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THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD:

IN WHICH IS INCLUDED

A CONTINUATION

OF HIS

HISTORY OF THE GRAND REBELLION.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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ac

A NEW EDITION,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS.,
WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES.

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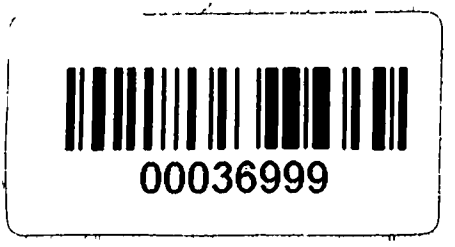

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

THE

CONTINUATION

OF

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

THOUGH the parliament at Oxford had preserved that excellent harmony that the king had proposed, and hardly wished any thing in which they had not concurred, insomuch as never parliament so entirely sympathised with his majesty; and though[a] it passed more acts for his honour and security than any other had ever done in so short a session: yet it produced[b] a precedent of a very unhappy nature, the circumstances whereof in the present were unusual and pernicious, and the consequences in the future very mischievous, and therefore not unfit to be set out at large. 1665.

The lord Arlington and sir William Coventry, closely united in the same purposes, and especially against the chancellor, had a great desire to find some means to change the course and method of the king's counsels; which they could hardly do whilst An attempt to remove the treasurer.

[a] though] *Not in MS.* [b] produced] introduced

1665. the same persons continued still in the same employments. Their malice was most against the chancellor: yet they knew not what suggestions to make to the king against him, having always pretended to his majesty, how falsely soever, to have a great esteem of him. Their project therefore was to remove the treasurer, who was as weary of his office and of the court as any body could be of him: but his reputation was so great, his wisdom so unquestionable, and his integrity so confessed, that they knew in neither of those points he could be impeached. And the king himself had kindness and reverence towards him, though he had for some years thought him less active, and so less fit for that administration, than every body else knew him to be: and these men had long insinuated unto his majesty[c], "how ill all the business of the exchequer "was managed by the continual infirmities of the "treasurer, who, between the gout and the stone, "had not ease enough to attend the painful function "of that office, but left the whole to be managed "and governed by his secretary sir Philip Warwick;" upon whose experience and fidelity he did in truth much rely, as he had reason to do, his reputation for both being very signal and universal. And towards fastening this reproach they had the contribution of the lord Ashley, who was good at looking into other men's offices, and was not pleased to see sir Philip Warwick's credit greater than his with the treasurer, and his advice more followed. And the other two had craftily insinuated to him, that he would make much a better treasurer; which, whilst

[c] majesty] *Omitted in MS.*

he thought they were in earnest, prevailed with him not only to suggest materials to them for that reproach, but to inculcate the same to the king upon several occasions: but when he discovered that they intended nothing of advantage to his particular, he withdrew from that intrigue, though in all other particulars he sided with them. 1665.

The king was too easy in making assignations upon his revenue, which would make it uncapable to satisfy others which were more necessary, and to grant suits by lease or farm, (sometimes to worthy men,) which were of mischievous consequence to all the measures which could be taken; and those the treasurer found himself obliged to stop: and commonly, upon informing the king of it and of his reasons, his majesty was very well pleased with what he had done, and (as hath been said before) did often give himself ease from the importunity of many, by signing the warrants they brought to him, in confidence that either the chancellor or treasurer would not suffer them to pass. However, it raised clamour; and there were men enough who had the same provocation to make a great noise; and they easily found countenance from others, who desired it should be believed, "that it was a high arrogance "and presumption in any subject to stop any sig- "nature of the king, and so make his majesty's "grace and bounty to be ineffectual, if his appro- "bation and consent was not likewise procured." There was visibly great want of money, though there were vast sums [d] raised; which they laboured to persuade the king proceeded from the unskilful-

[d] sums] sums of money

1665. ness or unactivity of the treasurer, who was again tired with the vexation and indignity, when he had so frequently presented the king with the particulars of the receipts and disbursements, and made it demonstrable how much his expenses exceeded all his income; and how impossible it would be, without lessening these, to provide wherewithal to supply necessary occasions[e]: but this was an ungracious subject, and opened more mouths than could easily be stopped.

There was a man who hath been often named, sir George Downing, who by having been some years in the office of one of the tellers of the exchequer, and being of a restless brain, did understand enough of the nature of the revenue and of the course of the receipt, to make others who understood less of it to think that he knew the bottom of it, and that the expedients, which should be proposed by him towards a reformation, could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And he was not unhurt in the emoluments of his own office, which were lessened by the assignations made to the bankers, upon the receipts themselves, without the money's ever passing through the tellers' office; by which, though they did receive their just fees, they had not what they would have taken, if the money had passed through their own hands. He was a member of parliament, and a very voluminous speaker, who would be thought wiser in trade than any of the merchants, and to understand the mystery of all professions much better than the professors of them. And such a kind of chat is always acceptable in a

[e] necessary occasions] *Omitted in MS.*

crowd, (where few understand many subjects,) who[f] are always glad to find those put out of countenance who thought they understood it best: and so they were much pleased to hear sir George Downing inveigh against the ignorance of those, who could only smile at his want of knowledge. 1665.

This gentleman was very grateful to sir William Coventry as well as to lord Arlington, and was ready to instruct them in all the miscarriages and oversights in the treasury, and to propose ways of reformation to them. "The root of all miscarriage "was the unlimited power of the lord treasurer, that "no money could issue out without his particular "direction, and all money was paid upon no[g] other "rules than his order; so that, let the king want as "much as was possible, no money could be paid by "his, without the treasurer's warrant;" which, to men who understood no more than they did, seemed a very great incongruity. "But," he said, "if there "were such a clause inserted into the bill which "was to be passed in the house of commons for "money, it might prevent all inconveniences, and "the king's money would be paid only to those "persons and purposes to which his majesty should "assign them; and more money would be presently "advanced upon this act of parliament, than the "credit of the bankers could procure;" for he foresaw that would be a very natural objection against his clause and the method he proposed. A project of sir George Downing to new-model the treasury.

He made his discourse so plausible to them, that they were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own ends, that they neither did

[f] who] and [g] no] any

1665. nor were able to consider the reverse of it, but were most solicitous that there might no obstructions arise in the way. If it should come to the knowledge of the chancellor, he would oppose it for the novelty, and the consequences that might attend it; and if the treasurer had notice of it, he would not consent to it for the indignity that his office was subjected to: they therefore discoursed it to the king as a matter of high importance to his service, if it were secretly carried; and then brought the projector, who was an indefatigable talker, to inform his majesty of the many benefits which would accrue to his service by this new method that he had devised, and the many mischiefs which would be prevented.

There were many[h] things which were suggested, that were agreeable to some fancies that the king himself had entertained; there would not need now so many formalities, as warrants and privy seals, before monies could be paid; and money might hereafter issue out and be paid without the treasurer's privity; in which many conveniences seemed to appear: though besides the innovation and breach of all old order, which is ever attended by many mischiefs unforeseen, there were very great inconveniences in view in those very particulars which they fancied to be conveniences. But it was enough that the king so well liked the advice, upon conference with them three, that he resolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed, that when the bill for supply should be brought into the house, (it being to be, as was said before, for the sum of.....,)

[h] many] so many

at the commitment Downing should offer that proviso, which had been drawn by himself, and read to the king and the other two. And because it was foreseen, that it would be opposed by many of those who were known to be very affectionate to the king's service, they had all authority privately to assure them, that it was offered with the king's approbation. 1665.

A clamour raised against the bankers.

Against the time that the bill was to be brought in, they prepared the house by many unseasonable bitter invectives against the bankers, called them cheats, bloodsuckers, extortioners, and loaded them with all the reproaches which can be cast upon the worst men in the world, and would have them looked upon as the causes of all the king's necessities, and of the want of monies throughout the kingdom: all which was a plausible argument, as all invectives against particular men are; and all men who had faculties of depraving, and of making ill things appear worse than they are, were easily engaged with them. The bankers did not consist of above the number of five or six men, some whereof were aldermen, and had been lord mayors of London, and all the rest were aldermen, or had fined for aldermen. They were a tribe that had risen and grown up in Cromwell's time, and never were[i] heard of before the late troubles, till when the whole trade of money had passed through the hands of the scriveners: they were for the most part goldsmiths, men known to be so rich, and of so good reputation, that all the money of the kingdom would be trusted or deposited in their hands.

[i] were] *Not in MS.*

1665. From the time of the king's return, when though great and vast sums were granted, yet such vast debts were presently to be paid, the armies by land and sea to be presently discharged, that[k] the money that was to be collected in six and six months would not provide for those present unavoidable issues; but there must be two or three hundred thousand pounds gotten together in few days, before they could begin to disband the armies or to pay the seamen off; the deferring whereof every month increased the charge to an incredible proportion: none could supply those occasions but the bankers, which brought the king's ministers first acquainted with them; and they were so well satisfied with their proceedings, that they did always declare, "that "they were so necessary to the king's affairs, that "they knew not how to have conducted them with-"out that assistance."

The advantage arising from the bankers.

The method of treating with them. The method of proceeding with them was thus. As soon as an act of parliament was passed, the king sent for those bankers, (for there was never any contract made with them but in his majesty's presence:) and he[l] being attended by the ministers of the revenue, and commonly the chancellor and others of the council, the lord treasurer presented a particular information to the king of the most urgent occasions for present money, either for disbanding troops, or discharging ships, or setting out fleets, (all which are to be done together, and not by parcels;) so that it was easily foreseen what ready money must be provided. And this account being made, the bankers were called in, and told, "that

[k] that] *Not in MS.* [l] he] *Not in MS.*

"the king had occasion to use such a sum of ready 1665.
"money within such a day; they understood the
"act of parliament, and so might determine what
"money they could lend the king, and what man-
"ner of security would best satisfy them." Where-
upon one said, "he would within such a time pay
"one hundred thousand pounds," another more, and
another less, as they found themselves provided; for
there was no joint stock amongst them; but every
one supplied according to his ability. They were
desirous to have eight in the hundred, which was
not unreasonable to ask, and the king was "willing
"to give:" but upon better consideration amongst
themselves, they thought fit to decline that demand,
as being capable of turning to their disadvantage,
and would leave the interest to the king's own
bounty, declaring "that themselves paid six in the
"hundred for all the money with which they were
"intrusted," which was known to be true.

Then they demanded such a receipt and assign-
ment to be made to them by the lord treasurer, for
the payment of the first money that should be pay-
able upon that act of parliament, or a branch of that
act, or tallies upon the farmers of the customs or ex-
cise, or such other branches of the revenue as were
least charged; having the king's own word and the
faith of the treasurer, that they should be exactly
complied with; for, let the security be what they
could desire, it would still be in the power of the
king or of the lord treasurer to divert what was as-
signed to them to other purposes. Therefore there
is nothing surer, than that the confidence in the
king's justice, and the unquestionable reputation of

1665. the lord treasurer's honour and integrity, was the true foundation of that credit which supplied all his majesty's necessities and occasions; and his majesty always treated those men very graciously, as his very good servants, and all his ministers looked upon them as very honest and valuable men. And in this manner, for many years after his majesty's return, even to the unhappy beginning of the Dutch war, the public expenses were carried on, it may be, with too little difficulty, which possibly increased some expenses; and nobody opened his mouth against the bankers, who every day increased in credit and reputation, and had the money of all men at their disposal.

The solicitor general brought in the bill for supply according to course, in that form as those bills for money ought and used to be: and after it had been read the second time, when it was committed, Downing offered his proviso, the end of which was, "to make all the money that was to be raised by "this bill to be applied only to those ends to which "it was given, which was the carrying on the war, "and to no other purpose whatsoever, by what au- "thority soever;" with many other clauses in it so monstrous, that the solicitor, and many others who were most watchful for the king's service, declared against it, as introductive to a commonwealth, and not fit for monarchy. It was observed, "that the "assignment of the money that was given by act of "parliament to be paid in another manner and to "other persons than had been formerly used, though "there wanted not plausible pretences, was the be- "ginning of the late rebellion, and furnished the

Downing offers a new proviso in the bill for the supply;

Which is opposed by the solicitor general.

" parliament with money to raise a rebellion, when 1665.
" the king had gone to defend himself; which had
" made Cromwell wise enough never to permit any
" of those clauses, or that the impositions which
" were raised should be disposed to any uses or by
" any persons but by himself and his own orders."
And by such and other arguments, which the contrivers had not foreseen, the proviso had been absolutely thrown out, if sir William Coventry and Downing had not gone to the solicitor and others who spake against it, and assured them, " that it
" was brought in by the king's own direction, and
" for purposes well understood by his majesty."
Upon which they were contented that it should be committed, yet with direction " that such and such
" expressions should be reformed and amended."

In the afternoon the king sent for the solicitor, and forbade him any more to oppose that proviso, for that it was much for his service. And when he would inform him of many mischiefs which would inevitably attend it, some were of those which he had no mind to prevent, being to lessen their power who he thought had too much, and the other he cared not to hear; and said only, " that he would
" bear the inconveniences which would ensue upon
" his own account, for the benefits which would ac-
" crue, and which it was not yet seasonable to com-
" municate with other members of the house of com-
" mons, whom he thought not to be so able to dis-
" pute it with him." [m]

The king commands him not to oppose it further.

[m] Something seems to be wanting here to make the sense clear. *Qu.* Whether what follows was spoken by Downing to the king, Arlington, and Coventry; or, by the king to the solicitor. In the latter case, *told them* (as it is in the MS.) should be altered to *told him*. [Note in the first edition.]

1665. He enlarged more in discourse, and told them, "that this would be an[n] encouragement to lend money, by making the payment with interest so certain and fixed, that there could be no[o] security in the kingdom like it, when it should be out of any man's power to cause any money that should be lent to morrow to be paid before that which was lent yesterday, but that all should be infallibly paid in order; by which the exchequer (which was now bankrupt and without any credit) would be quickly in that reputation, that all men would deposit their money there: and that he hoped in few years, by observing the method he now proposed, he would make his exchequer the best and the greatest bank in Europe, and where all Europe would, when it was once understood, pay in their money for the certain profit it would yield, and the indubitable certainty that they should receive their money." And with this discourse the vain man, who had lived many years in Holland, and would be thought to have made himself master of all their policy, had amused the king and his two friends, undertaking to erect the king's exchequer into the same degree of credit that the bank of Amsterdam stood upon[p], the institution whereof he undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident, "that all that should be transplanted into England, and all nations would sooner send their money into the exchequer, than into Amsterdam or Genoa or Venice." And it cannot be enough wondered at, that this intoxication prevailed so far, that

[n] would be an] *Omitted in MS.*

[o] no] *Omitted in MS.*

[p] stood upon] *Omitted in MS.*

no argument would be heard against it, the king having upon those notions, and with the advice of those counsellors, in his own thoughts new-modelled the whole government of his treasury, in which he resolved to have no more superior officers. But this was only reserved within his own breast, and not communicated to any but those who devised the project, without weighing that the security for monies so deposited in banks is the republic itself, which must expire before that security can fail; which can never be depended on in a monarchy, where the monarch's sole word can cancel all those formal provisions which can be made, (as hath since been too evident,) by vacating those assignations which have been made upon that and the like acts of parliament, for such time as the present necessities have made counsellable; which would not then be admitted to be possible. 1665.

It is passed by the commons.

And so without any more opposition, which was not grateful to the king, that act passed the house of commons, with the correction only of such absurdities as had not been foreseen by those who framed the proviso, and which did indeed cross their own designs: and so it was sent from the commons to the house of peers for their consent.

Bills of that nature, which concern the raising of money, seldom stay long with the lords; but as of custom, which they call privilege, they are first begun in the house of commons, where they endure long deliberation, so when they are adjusted there, they seem to pass through the house of peers with the reading twice and formal commitment, in which any alterations are very rarely made, except in any impositions which are laid upon their own persons,

1665. for which there are usually blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the amendment or alteration that is commonly made by the lords: so that the same engrossment that is sent up by the commons, is usually the bill itself that is presented to the king for his royal assent. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt made, but that those bills of any kind of subsidies, as excise, chimney-money, or any other way of imposition, are as much the gift and present from the house of peers as they are from the house of commons, and are no more valid without their consent than without the consent of the other; and they may alter any clause in them that they do not think for the good of the people. But because the house of commons is the immediate representative of the people, it is presumed that they best know what they can bear or are willing to submit to, and what they propose to give is proportionable to what they can spare; and therefore the lords use not to put any stop in the passage of such bills, much less diminish what is offered by them to the king.

And in this parliament the expedition that was used in all business out of fear of the sickness, and out of an impatient desire to be separated, was very notorious: and as soon as this bill for supply was sent to the lords, very many members of the house of commons left the town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally thought[q], that at the passing that act, with the rest which were ready, the king would prorogue the parliament. Yet the novelty in this act so surprised the lords, that they thought it worthy

[q] thought] *Omitted in MS.*

a very serious deliberation, and used not their customary expedition in the passing it. It happened to be in an ill conjuncture, when the terrible cold weather kept the lord treasurer from going out of his chamber for fear of the gout, of which the chancellor laboured then in that extremity, that he was obliged to remain in his bed; and neither of them had received information of this affair. Many of the lords came to them, and advertised them of this new proviso; and some of them went to the king, to let him know[r] the prejudice it would bring him, and censured the ill hand that had contrived it. 1665.

Some lords remonstrate to the king against this proviso.

The lord Ashley, who was chancellor of the exchequer, and had been privy in the first cabal in which this reformation was designed, whether because he found himself left out in the most secret part of it, or not enough considered in it, passionately inveighed against it, both publicly and privately, and, according to the fertility of his wit and invention, found more objections against it than any body else had done, and the consequences to be more destructive[s]; with which he so alarmed the king, that his majesty was contented that the matter should be debated in his presence; and because the chancellor was in his bed, thought his chamber to be the fittest place for the consultation: and the lord treasurer[t], though indisposed and apprehensive of the gout, could yet use his feet, and was very willing to attend his majesty there, without the least imagination that he was aimed at in the least.

The king consults the private committee upon it.

The king appointed the hour for the meeting, where his majesty, with his brother, was present,

[r] know] *Omitted in MS.*
[s] destructive] destruction
[t] treasurer] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. the chancellor in his bed, the lord treasurer, the lord Ashley, the lord Arlington, and sir William Coventry; the attorney general and the solicitor were likewise present, to word any alterations which should be fit to be made; and sir George Downing likewise attended, who the king still believed would be able to answer all objections which could be made. The chancellor had never seen the proviso which contained all the novelty, (for all the other parts of the bill were according to the course,) and the treasurer had read it only an hour or two before the meeting: the lord Ashley therefore, who had heard it read in the house of peers, and observed what that house thought of it, opened the whole business with the novelty, and the ill consequence that must inevitably attend it; all which he enforced with great clearness and evidence of reason, and would have enlarged with some sharpness upon the advisers of it.

But the king himself stopped that by declaring, "that whatsoever had been done in the whole trans-"action of it had been with his privity and approba-"tion, and the whole blame must be laid to his own "charge[u], who it seems was like to suffer most by "it." He confessed, "he was so fully convinced in "his own understanding, that the method proposed "would prove to his infinite advantage and to the "benefit of the kingdom, that he had converted "many in the house who had disliked it; and that "since it came into the house of peers, he had "spoken with many of the lords, who seemed most "unsatisfied with it: and he was confident he had

[u] charge] *Omitted in MS.*

"so well informed many of them, that they had 1665.
"changed their opinion, and would be no more
"against that proviso. However, he confessed that
"some remained still obstinate against it, and they
"had given some reasons which he had not thought
"of, and which in truth he could not answer: he
"wished therefore that they would apply themselves
"to the most weighty objections which were in view,
"or which might probably result from thence, and
"think of the best remedies which might be applied
"by alterations and amendments in the house of
"lords, which he doubted not but that the com-
"mons would concur in."

Objections made against it there.

The first objection was "the novelty, which in
"cases of that nature was very dangerous, remem-
"bering what hath been mentioned before of the
"beginning of the late rebellion, by putting the
"money to run in another channel than it had used
"to do: and that when once such a clause was ad-
"mitted in one bill, the king would hardly get it
"left out in others of the same kind hereafter; and
"so his majesty should never be master of his own
"money, nor the ministers of his revenue be able to
"assign monies to defray any casual expenses, of
"what nature soever; but that upon the matter the
"authority of the treasurer and chancellor of the
"exchequer must be invested in the tellers of the
"exchequer, who were subordinate officers, and qua-
"lified to do nothing but by the immediate order of
"those their superior officers. And though there
"are four tellers in equal authority, yet sir George
"Downing would in a short time make his office
"the sole receipt, and the rest neither receive nor
"pay but by his favour and consent."

1665. The king had in his nature so little reverence or esteem for antiquity, and did in truth so much contemn old orders, forms, and institutions, that the objections of novelty rather advanced than obstructed any proposition. He was a great lover of new inventions, and thought them[x] the effects of wit and spirit, and fit to control the superstitious observation of the dictates of our ancestors: so that objection made little impression. And for the continuance of the same clause in future bills, he looked for it as necessary, in order to the establishment of his bank, which would abundantly recompense for his loss of power in disposal of his own money. And though it was made appear, by very solid arguments, that the imagination of a bank was a mere chimera in itself, and the erecting it in the exchequer must suppose that the crown must be always liable to a vast debt upon interest, which would be very ill husbandry; and that there was great hope, that after a happy peace should be concluded, and care should be taken to bring the expenses into a narrower compass, the king might in a short time be out of debt: yet all discourse against a bank was thought to proceed from pure ignorance. And sir George was let loose to instruct them how easy it was to be established, who talked imperiously "of "the method by which it came to be settled in "Holland[y] by the industry of very few persons, "when the greatest men despaired of it as impracticable; yet the obstinacy of the other prevailed, "and it was now become the strength, wealth, and "security of the state: that the same would be

[x] them] *Omitted in MS.* [y] in Holland] *Omitted in MS.*

" brought to pass much more easily here, and would 1665.
" be no sooner done, than England would be the
" seat of all the trade of Christendom." And then assuming all he said to be demonstration, he wrapped himself up, according to his custom, in a mist of words that nobody could see light in, but they who by often hearing the same chat thought they understood it.

The next objection was "against the injustice of " this clause, and the ill consequence of that injus- " tice. The necessities of the crown being still " pressing, and the fleet every day calling for sup- " ply, money had been borrowed from the bankers " upon the credit of this bill, as soon as the first " vote had passed in the house of commons for so " considerable a supply; and the treasurer had " made assignments upon several branches of the " revenue, which had been preserved and designed " for the army and the immediate expenses of the " king's and queen's household, and the like una- " voidable issues, upon presumption that enough " would come in from this new act of parliament to " be replaced to those purposes, before the time " that would require it should come. But by this " proviso especial care was taken, that none of the " money that should be raised should be applied to " the payment of any debt that was contracted be- " fore the royal assent was given to the bill: so that " both the money lent by the bankers upon the pro- " mise made to them must be unpaid and un- " secured; and the money that had been supplied " from other assignations must not be applied to " the original use; by which the army and house-

1665. "hold would be unprovided for, the inconveni-
"ence whereof had no need of an enlargement.

"Besides that the bankers had the king's word,
"and the engagement of the ministers of the revenue,
"that all new bills of supply should still make good
"what former securities were not sufficient to do;
"as by this heavy visitation of the plague, the assig-
"nations which had been made upon the excise and
"chimney-money, and by the decay of trade that
"the war, and sickness together had produced, the
"assignations made upon the customs had brought
"in so little money, that the debt to the bankers,
"which, but for those obstructions, might by this
"time have been much abated, remained still very
"little less than it was[z] near a year before. And
"when it should be known, that this sum of money
"that was to be raised was exempt from the pay-
"ment of any of those and the like debts, it would
"be a great heartbreaking to all those, who had
"not only lent all their own estates, but the whole
"estates of many thousands of other men, to the
"king, and must expect to be called upon by all
"who have trusted them for their money, which,
"by this invention, they have no means to pay:
"and for the future, let the necessities be what
"they will that the crown may be involved in,
"there is no hope of borrowing any money, since it
"is not in the power of the king himself to make
"any assignment upon this new imposition."

Very much of this had been so absolutely unthought of by the king, that he was very much

[z] was] was in

troubled at it; and he had in his own judgment a just esteem of the bankers, and looked upon any prejudice[a] that they should suffer as hurtful to himself, and a great violation of his honour and justice. But it was plain enough that the principal design of the contrivers was to prejudice the bankers, nor did they care what ruin befell them, and so talked loosely and bitterly "of their cozening the king, and "what ill bargains had been made with them;" though it was made manifest, that no private gentleman in England did, upon any real or personal security, borrow money, but considering the brocage he pays, and[b] the often renewing his security, it costs him yearly much more than the king paid to the bankers. 1665.

They slighted what was past as sufficiently provided for; and for the future confidently undertook the king should never more have need of the bankers, "for that this act would be no sooner passed, "but, upon the credit of it, money would be poured "into the exchequer faster than it could be told." And when they were told, "that expectation would "deceive them, and that great sums would not "come in, and small sums would do hurt, because "they would but stop up the security from giving "satisfaction to others, because whatever was first "paid in must be first paid:" all this was answered confidently, "that vast sums were ready, to their "knowledge, to be paid in as soon as the bill "should pass[c];" which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or twenty thousand pounds were deli-

[a] prejudice] *Not in MS.*
[b] and] *Not in MS.*
[c] should pass] *Omitted in MS.*

1665. vered in by themselves and their friends to save their credit, there was no more money like to come; and that sum did more harm than good, by interrupting the security.

But notwithstanding all their answers, the king remained unsatisfied in many particulars which he had not foreseen, and wished "that the matter had "been better consulted;" and confessed "that "Downing had not answered many of the ob-"jections;" and wished "that alterations might be "prepared to be offered in the house of peers as "amendments, and transmitted to the commons, "without casting out the proviso;" the foundation and end of which still pleased him, for those reasons which he would not communicate, and for which only it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very easy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper remedy; so the mending it would leave much argument for debate, and would spend much time. And it was to be apprehended, that there were so many of the best affected members of the house of commons gone out of the town, as having no more to do, that when it should be sent down thither again, it might be longer delayed[d] there than would be convenient for the public; and so the parliament be kept longer from a prorogation, than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the king.

It is passed by the lords. And therefore, upon the whole matter, his majesty chose that no interruption should be given to it in the house of peers, and only such small amendments, which would be as soon consented to in

[d] delayed] detained

both houses as read, should be offered, rather than run the other hazard of delay: and so accordingly it was passed; and upon the doing thereof, the parliament was prorogued to April following. 1665. The parliament prorogued.

In this debate, upon the insolent behaviour of Downing in the defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the extremity of the pain which at that time he endured in his bed, the chancellor[e] had given some very sharp reprehensions to Downing, for his presumption in undertaking to set such a design on foot that concerned the whole fabric of the exchequer, (in which he was an inferior officer,) and such a branch of the king's revenue, without first communicating it to his superior officers, and receiving their advice; and told him, "that it was impossible for the king "to be well served, whilst fellows of his condition "were admitted to speak as much as they had a "mind to; and that in the best times such pre-"sumptions had been punished with imprisonment "by the lords of the council, without the king's "taking notice of it:" which, with what sharpness soever uttered, (in which he naturally exceeded in such occasions,) in a case of this nature, in which, with reference to any disrespect towards himself, he was not concerned, he thought did not exceed the privilege and dignity of the place he held; and for which there were many precedents in the past times. The king much offended with the chancellor in this affair.

At the present there was no notice taken, nor reply made to what he said. But they who knew themselves equally guilty, and believed they were

[e] the chancellor] *in MS.* the charge

1665. reflected upon, found quickly opportunity to incense the king, and to persuade him to believe, "that the "chancellor's behaviour was a greater affront to him "than to Downing: that a servant should undergo "such reproaches in the king's own presence, for no "other reason but having, with all humility, pre- "sented an information to his majesty, which was "natural for him to understand in the office in which "he served him, and afterwards followed and ob- "served the orders and directions which himself "had prescribed; that this must terrify all men "from giving the king any light in his affairs, that "he may know nothing of his own nearest concern- "ments but what his chief ministers thought fit to "impart to him." All which, and whatsoever else was natural to wit sharpened with malice to suggest upon such an argument, they enforced with warmth, that they desired might be taken for zeal for his service [f] and dignity, which was prostituted by those presumptions of the chancellor.

And herewith they so inflamed the king, that he was much offended, and expressed to them such a dislike that pleased them well, and gave them opportunity to add more fuel to the fire; and told them, "that the chancellor should find that he was not "pleased;" as indeed he did, by a greater reservedness in his countenance than his majesty used to carry towards him; the reason whereof his innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a short time he vouchsafed plainly to put him in mind of his behaviour at that time, and to express a great resentment of it, and urged all those glosses which had

[f] service] *Omitted in MS.*

been made to him upon it, and "what interpretation 1665.
"all men must make of such an action, and be ter-
"rified by it from offering any thing, of what im-
"portance soever to his service, if it would offend
"his ministers;" and all this in a choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the chancellor, and made him more discern, though he had evidence enough of it before, that he stood upon very slippery ground.

The chancellor satisfies his majesty.

He told his majesty, "that since he thought his
"behaviour to be so bad in that particular, for
"which till then his own conscience or discretion
"had not reproached him, he must and did believe
"he had committed a great fault, for which he did
"humbly ask his pardon; and promised hereafter
"no more to incur his displeasure for such excesses,
"which he could never have fallen into at that time
"and upon that occasion, but upon the presumption,
"that it had been impossible for his majesty to have
"made that interpretation of it which it seems he
"had done, or that any body could have credit
"enough with him to persuade him to believe, that
"he desired that his majesty should not have a clear
"view, and the most discerning insight, into the
"darkest and most intricate parts of all his affairs,
"which they knew in their consciences to be most
"untrue. And he must with great confidence ap-
"peal to his majesty, who knew how much he had
"desired, and taken some pains, that his majesty
"might never set his hand to any thing, before he
"fully understood it upon such references and re-
"ports, as, according to the nature of the business,
"were [5] to be for his full information."

[5] were] was

1665. He besought him to remember, "how often he "had told him, that it was most absolutely neces- "sary that he should make himself entirely master "of his own business, for that there would be no "acquiescence in any judgment but his own; and "that his majesty knew with what boldness he had "often lamented to himself, that he would not take "the pains perfectly to understand all his own af- "fairs, which exposed his ministers to the censures "of half-witted men, and was the greatest discou- "ragement to all who served him honestly: and he "desired his pardon again for saying that. He "would[h] hereafter find that they who had advised "him in this late transaction, in the handling where- "of he had taken the liberty that had offended his "majesty, had but a very dim insight into that bu- "siness which they took upon themselves to direct."

But his majesty was not willing to enter again into that discourse, and concluded with forbidding him to believe, "that it was or could be in any "men's power to make him suspect his affection or "integrity to his service;" and used many other very gracious expressions to him, nor ever after seemed to remember that action to his prejudice. But within a short time the bishopric of Salisbury becoming void by the never enough lamented death of Dr. Earle, his majesty conferred that bishopric upon Dr. Hyde, the dean of Winchester, upon the chancellor's recommendation, whose near kinsman he was. Nor was his credit with the king thought to be lessened by any body but himself, who knew more to that purpose than other people could do:

[h] for saying that. He would] for saying, that he would

yet he judged more from the credit that he found his enemies got every day, than from the king's withdrawing his trust and kindness from him; nor did the king believe that they had then that design against him, which shortly after they did not dissemble. 1665.

The king persuaded to desire the treasurer would resign.

The purpose of making the alteration in the government of the treasury was pursued very industriously. And since that proviso, with all the circumstances thereof, had not produced the effect they proposed, for they had believed that the indignity of the affront would have wrought so far upon the great heart of the treasurer, that he would thereupon have given up his staff; which he was too much inclined to have done, if he had not been prevailed with by those who he knew were his friends, not to gratify those who desired him out of their way, in doing that which they of all things wished: therefore, that plot not succeeding, they persuaded the king to try another expedient. For they all knew, that it was too envious a thing for his majesty himself to remove him from his office by any act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if he could be himself persuaded to quit that which every body knew he was weary of, it would prevent all inconveniences: and they had been told that the chancellor only had dissuaded him from doing it, which he would not presume to do, if he were clearly told that the king desired that he should give it up.

Hereupon the king one day called the chancellor to him, and told him, "that he must speak with "him in a business of great confidence, and which "required great secrecy;" and then enlarged in a great commendation of the treasurer, (whom in truth

1665. he did very much esteem,) " of his great parts of " judgment, of his unquestionable integrity, and of " his general interest and reputation throughout " the kingdom. But with all this," he said, " he " was not fit for the office he held: that he did not " understand the mystery of that place, nor could " in his nature go through [1] with the necessary " obligations of it. That his bodily infirmities were " such, that many times he could not be spoken " with for two or three days, so that there could be " no despatch; of which every body complained, and " by which his business suffered very much. That " all men knew that all the business was done by " sir Philip Warwick, whom, though he was a very " honest man, he did not think fit to be treasurer; " which he was to all effects, the treasurer himself " doing nothing but signing the papers which the " other prepared for him, which was neither for the " king's honour nor his." The truth was, that his understanding was too fine for such gross matters as that office must be conversant about, and that if his want of health did not hinder him, his genius did not carry him that way; nor would the laziness of his nature permit him to take that pains, that was absolutely necessary for the well discharging that great office.

His majesty concluded, " that he loved him too " well to disoblige him, and would never do any " thing that would not be grateful to him: but he " had some reason, even from what he had some- " times said to him, to think that he was weary of " it, and might be easily persuaded to deliver up his

[1] go through] *Omitted in MS.*

" staff, which his majesty would be very glad of; 1665.
" and therefore he wished that he, the chancellor, The king wishes the chancellor to advise him to it.
" who was known to have most interest in him,
" would persuade him to it, in which he would do
" his majesty a singular service."

The chancellor presently asked him, " if he were " so unfit, whom he would make treasurer in his " room." The king as presently answered, " that " he would never make another treasurer, which " was an office of great charge, and would be much " more effectually executed by commissioners; which " had been done in Cromwell's time, as many offices " had been: and that his majesty found by expe- " rience, that in offices of that kind commissioners " were better than single officers; for though sir " William Compton was a very extraordinary man, " of great industry and fidelity, yet that the office " of the ordnance was neither in so good order nor " so thriftily managed whilst he was master of it, " as it hath been since his death, since when it hath " been governed by commissioners; and so he was " well assured his treasury would be."

The chancellor replied, " that he was very sorry " to find his majesty so much inclined to commis- " sioners, who were indeed fittest to execute all " offices according to the model of a commonwealth, " but not at all agreeable to monarchy: that if he " thought the precedent of Cromwell's time fit to be " followed, he should be in the posture that Crom- " well was, with an army of one hundred thousand " men, which made him have no need of the au- " thority and reputation of a treasurer, either to " settle his revenue or to direct the levying it; he " could do both best himself." But he very pas-

1665. sionately besought his majesty to believe, "that "they who advised him to this method of govern- "ment, though they might have good affection to "his person and his service, were very unskilful in "the constitution of this kingdom and in the nature "of the people. That the office of treasurer had "sometimes, upon the death of a present officer, "been executed by commissioners, but very seldom "for any time, or longer than whilst the king could "deliberately make choice of a fit minister. That "himself had been twice a commissioner for the "treasury, once in the time of his father, and again "upon his majesty's return: and therefore that he "could upon experience assure him, that commis- "sioners, in so active a time as this, could never "discharge the duty of that office; and that the "dignity of the person of the treasurer was most "necessary for his service, both towards the pro- "curing the raising of money in parliament, and "the improving his revenue by the grant of addi- "tions there, as likewise for the collecting and con- "ducting it afterwards. For the present treasurer," he said, "there was no question, but if he knew that "his majesty was weary of his service, and wished "to have the staff out of his hand, he would most "readily deliver it: but that they who gave the "counsel, and thought it fit for his majesty's service, "were much fitter to give him that advertisement, "than he who in his conscience did believe, that "the following it would be of the most pernicious "consequence to his service of any thing that could "be done."

The chancellor earnestly peti-

He most humbly and with much earnestness besought his majesty "seriously to reflect, what an ill

" savour it would have over the whole kingdom, at 1665.
" this time of a war with at least two powerful ene- tions him
" mies abroad together, of so great discontent and against this measure;
" jealousy at home, and when the court was in no
" great reputation with the people, to remove a per-
" son the most loved and reverenced by the people
" for his most exemplary [k] fidelity and wisdom, who
" had deserved as much from his blessed father and
" himself as a subject can do from [l] his prince, a
" nobleman of the best quality, the best allied and
" the best beloved; to remove at such a time such
" a person, and with such circumstances, from his
" councils and his trust: for nobody could imagine,
" that, after such a manifestation of his majesty's
" displeasure, he would be again conversant in the
" court or in the council, both which would be much
" less esteemed upon such an action. That many
" with the same diseases and infirmities had long
" executed that office, which required more the
" strength of the mind than of the body: all were
" obliged to attend him, and he only to wait upon
" his majesty.

" That it was impossible for any man to discharge
" that office without a secretary: and if the whole
" kingdom had been to have preferred a secretary
" to him, they would have commended this gentle-
" man to him whom he trusted, who had for many
" years served a former treasurer in the same trust,
" in the most malignant, captious, and calumniating
" time that hath been known, and yet without the
" least blemish or imputation; and who, ever since
" that time, had served his father in and to the end

[k] exemplary] exemplar [l] from] for

1665. " of the war, and himself since in the most secret " and dangerous affairs," (for he had been trusted by the persons of the greatest quality to hold intelligence with his majesty to the time of his return;) " so that all men rather[m] expected to have found " him preferred to some good place, than in the " same post he had been in twenty years before; " which he would never have undertaken under any " other officer than one with whom he had much " confidence, and who he knew would serve his ma- " jesty so well. Yet," he said, " that whoever knew " them could never[n] believe that sir Philip War- " wick could govern the lord treasurer."

The king said, " he had a very good opinion of sir " Philip Warwick, and had never heard any thing to " his prejudice." But upon the main point of the debate he seemed rather moved and troubled than convinced, when by good fortune the duke of York came into the room, who had been well prepared to like the king's purpose, and to believe it necessary; and therefore his majesty was glad of his presence, and called him to him, and told him what he had been speaking of; and the chancellor informed him of all that had passed between the king and him, and told him, " that he could never do a better ser- " vice to the king his brother, than by using his cre- " dit with him to restrain him from prosecuting a " purpose that would prove so mischievous to him."

And at length prevails.

And so the discourse was renewed: and in the end the duke was so entirely converted, that he prevailed with his majesty to lay aside the thought of it; which so broke all the measures the other con-

[m] rather] *Omitted in MS.* [n] never] *Omitted in MS.*

trivers had formed their counsels by, that they were much out of countenance. But finding that they could not work upon the duke to change his mind, and to return to the former resolution, they thought not fit to press the king further for the present; and only made so much use of their want of success, by presenting to his majesty his irresoluteness, which made the chancellor still impose upon him, that the king did not think the better of the chancellor or the treasurer, for his receding at that time from prosecuting what he had so positively resolved to have done, and promised them "to be firmer to his "next determination." 1665.

After Christmas the rage and fury of the pestilence began in some degree to be mitigated, but so little, that nobody who had left the town had yet the courage to return thither: nor had they reason; for though it was a considerable abatement from the height it had been at, yet there died still between three and four thousand in the week, and of those, some men of better condition than had fallen before. The general writ from thence, "that there still "arose new difficulties in providing for the setting "out the fleet, and some of such a nature, that he "could not easily remove them without communi-"cation with his majesty, and receiving his more "positive directions; and how to bring that to pass "he knew not, for as he could by no means advise "his majesty to leave Oxford, so he found many ob-"jections against his own being absent from Lon-"don." Windsor was thought upon as a place where the king might safely reside, there being then no infection there: but the king had adjourned the term thither, which had possessed the whole town; 1666.

1666. and he was not without some apprehension, that the plague had got into one house.

The king removes from Oxford to Hampton-Court.

In the end, towards the end of February, the king resolved that the queen and duchess and all their families should remain in Oxford; and that his majesty and his brother, with prince Rupert, and such of his council and other servants as were thought necessary or fit, would make a quick journey to Hampton-Court, where the general might be every day, and return again to London at night, and his majesty give such orders as were requisite for the carrying on his service, and so after two or three days' stay there return again to Oxford; for no man did believe it counsellable, that his majesty should reside longer there, than the despatch of the most important business required: and with this resolution his majesty made his journey to Hampton-Court.

The plague decreases.

It pleased God, that the next week after his majesty came thither, the number of those who died of the plague in the city decreased one thousand; and there was a strange universal joy there for the king's being so near. The weather was as it could be wished, deep snow and terrible frost, which very probably stopped the spreading of the infection, though it might put an end to those who were already infected, as it did, for in a week or two the number of the dead was very little diminished. The general came and went as was intended: but the business every day increased; and his majesty's remove to a further distance was thought inconvenient, since there appeared no danger in remaining where he was.

And after a fortnight's or three weeks' stay, he

resolved, for the quicker despatch of all that was to be done, to go to Whitehall, when there died above fifteen hundred in the week, and when there was not in a day seen a coach in the streets, but those which came in his majesty's train; so much all men were terrified from returning to a place of so much mortality. Yet it can hardly be imagined what numbers flocked thither from all parts upon the fame of the king's being at Whitehall, all men being ashamed of their fears for their own safety, when the king ventured his person. The judges at Windsor adjourned the last return of the term to Westminster-hall, and the town every day filled marvellously; and which was more wonderful, the plague every day decreased. Upon which the king changed his purpose, and, instead of returning to Oxford, sent for the queen and all the family to come to Whitehall: so that before the end of March the streets were as full, the exchange as much crowded, and the people in all places as numerous, as they had ever been seen, few persons missing any of their acquaintance, though by the weekly bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand persons: and many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in truth double that number who died; and that in one week, when the bill mentioned only six thousand, there had in truth fourteen thousand died. The frequent deaths of the clerks and sextons of parishes hindered the exact account of every week; but that which left it without any certainty was the vast number that was buried in the fields, of which no account was kept. Then of the anabaptists and other sectaries, who abounded in the city, very few

1666.

The king returns to Whitehall.

The number supposed to have died of the plague.

1666. left their habitations; and multitudes of them died, whereof no churchwarden or other officer had notice; but they found burials, according to their own fancies, in small gardens or the next fields. The greatest number of those who died consisted of women and children, and the lowest and poorest sort of the people: so that, as I said before, few men missed any of their acquaintance when they returned, not many of wealth or quality or of much conversation bring dead; yet some of either sort there were.

Preparations for setting out the fleet again.

The business of the king and of all about him was, that the fleet might be ready and at sea with all the possible expedition: and in or towards this there was less disturbance and interruption than could reasonably have been expected, an universal cheerfulness appearing in all who could obstruct or contribute towards it, the people generally being abundantly satisfied in the king's choice of the commanders. Prince Rupert was very much beloved, for his confessed courage, by the seamen; and the people believed that they could not but have the victory where the general commanded, who only underwent unquietness and vexation from the tempestuous humour of his wife. She, from his return from Oxford, and from the time that she had the first intimation that the king had designed her husband for the command of the fleet, was all storm and fury; and, according to the wisdom and modesty of her nature, poured out a thousand full-mouthed curses against all those who had contributed to that counsel: but the malice of all that tempest fell upon the chancellor. She declared, "that this was a plot of his to remove her husband "from the king, that he might do what he had a

"mind to;" and threw all the ill words at him which she had been accustomed to hear, accompanied with her good wishes of what she would have befall him. But the company she kept, and the conversation she was accustomed to, could not propagate the reproaches far; and the poor general himself felt them most, who knew the chancellor to be his very fast and faithful friend, and that he would not be less so because his wife was no wiser than she was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking pains night and day, that the fleet might be at sea. 1666.

The duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, was already gone to Brest, and had taken leave of the king at Paris, whither he was not to return till after the summer's service at sea, and had appointed a rendezvous of all the ships to be at Brest by the middle of March, which they reported should consist of fifty ships of war. The French fleet prepared.

The rupture was declared on both sides with Denmark. That king had appeared much troubled at the ill accident at Bergen, which had fallen out merely by the accidents of weather, which had hindered the positive orders from arriving in the precise time: and he seemed still resolved to detain the Dutch ships there, and only to fear the conjunction of the Swede with the Hollander, which the king's agent, sir Gilbert Talbot, assured him he need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, Mr. Clifford, who had been present at Bergen, and is before mentioned to be sent after that by the king to Denmark, went from thence into Sweden (where Mr. Coventry yet remained) with a project of such a treaty as would have been with little al- Denmark joins the Dutch.

1666. terations consented to in Sweden, who had good inclinations to the king, and resolved to join with the bishop of Munster, when he should advance, according to his engagement. But the Danish resident in Sweden delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received less positive orders than the nature of the affair required, and that he expected fuller: and so all matters were deferred, till ambassadors came from Holland with no expostulations, and a desire to renew their alliance, and release some engagements they had upon the Sound, which had been very grievous to the Dane; and many other conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An ambassador likewise arrived in the nick of time from France, to dispose them to a conjunction with Holland, and to warrant the performance of whatsoever the Hollander should promise, and likewise to undertake that France would protect them against England, and therefore that they should not apprehend any danger from a war from thence; and De Ruyter was now gone with the fleet for Bergen.

Upon all these motives concurring in the same conjuncture, the poor king embraced that party; and then declared and complained, "that the English "had broken the law of nations in violating the "peace of his ports, and endeavouring to fire his "town, when they were hospitably received and "treated there under the protection of his castle." He denied that he had ever made such an offer or promise as sir Gilbert Talbot still charged him with, and which he had not denied to Mr. Clifford when he came first thither. But now he reproached sir Gilbert Talbot "for falsifying his words, at least for

" mistaking them, and sending that to the king his 1666.
" master which he gave him no liberty to do."
And now sir Gilbert found his error in not having drawn from him or his servant Gabell, in writing, some evidence of the engagement: but after many indignities he left the court and returned to England. All English ships in Denmark or Norway were seized upon; and the persons of all merchants and others who were his majesty's subjects, and to some of whom the king of Denmark owed great sums of money, which they had lent to him, were imprisoned, and their goods seized and confiscated.

All which proceedings provoked the king to give the like orders, and to look upon them as enemies, and to emit a declaration of the motive he had to send his fleet to Bergen, " which he could never " have done but upon the invitation and promise of " that king; which was evident enough by the re- " ception his ships had there, and expectation the " governor had of their arrival, and his allegation, " that he expected that very night fuller orders " than he had yet received; and lastly, his suffering " them to depart securely, after all the acts of hos- " tility had passed in the port." Much of this was denied with many indecent expressions, and such evasions as made all that was said believed by equal considerers: and so the war was declared.

And then in the beginning of the year 1666, a year long destined by all astrologers for the production of dismal changes and alterations throughout the world, and by some for the end of it, the king found his condition so much worse than it had been the last year, as the addition of France and Den-

1666. mark could make it; against all which, and the prodigies which the year was to produce, (and it did truly produce many,) the king prepared with his accustomed vigour and resolution, though the predictions had a strange operation upon vulgar minds.

Negociations of the French at this time.

The proclamation of the war in France, and the seizure upon the estates of the English, with some circumstances in the point of time, and other actions very unjust and unusual, the great maritime preparations there, and the visible assistance of force that was sent thence to the Dutch, did not trouble nor hurt the king so much as the secret and invisible negociations of that crown. From the first declaration of the bishop of Munster of his resolution to make a war upon Holland, (with which he acquainted the king of France before he declared[n] it, and received such an answer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his first address to the king of Great Britain) that he should meet with no obstruction from thence; and upon that confidence the treaty was concluded with the king, and great sums of money paid to the bishop upon his promise and engagement, "that he "would fix himself with his army within the terri-"tories of the States General before the winter was "ended; and[o] that against the spring, when the "king's fleet should be ready for the sea, he would "at the same time march with an army of twenty "thousand foot and five thousand horse into the "heart of their country;" and what the effect of that would have been in that conjuncture may be

[n] declared] resolved

[o] and] *Not in MS.*

in some degree guessed at by what hath since fallen out:) I say[p], France, from the first knowledge they had of his purpose, and before they declared on the behalf of the Dutch, secretly sent to the neighbour princes "not to join with the bishop, and to do all "that was in their power to hinder his levies;" and prevailed with the elector of Brandenburgh, who had given hopes to the bishop of a powerful assistance upon the expectation of the restoration of Wesel, and other towns then possessed by Holland, totally to decline any conjunction with him, upon promise "that he should find his own account bet-"ter from the friendship of France." The dukes of Lunenburg, who had made the bishop believe that they would join with him, and had made levies of soldiers to that purpose, having abundant argument of quarrel with Holland, were now persuaded by the same way not only to desist from helping, but to declare themselves enemies to the bishop, if he would not desist, and "that they would serve the Dutch "with their forces." 1666.

They deter the neighbouring States from assisting the bishop of Munster;

When all this could not discourage the bishop from prosecuting his intention, but that he still gathered troops, and gave new commissions to officers who had prepared for their levies further in Germany; the king of France sent an envoy expressly to the bishop himself, and offered his mediation and interposition with the Dutch, "that they should do "him all the right that in justice he could demand "from them[q], and if this[r] were not accepted by "him, that he must[s] expect what prejudice the "arms of France could bring upon him;" and then

[p] I say] But
[q] them] him
[r] this] *Omitted in MS.*
[s] must] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. sent to all those princes who had permitted levies to be made in their countries, "that they should not "suffer those troops to march out of their country," but offered "to receive and entertain them in his "own army." With this he sent to the other princes of Germany and to the emperor himself, "that if "they did not prevent this incursion of the bishop of "Munster," (to which they all wished well,) "they "would involve the empire in a war."

When all this could not terrify the bishop, who defended himself by his engagement to the king of Great Britain, "that he would[t] not enter into treaty "nor give over his enterprise without his consent," and drew his forces together to a rendezvous, and had got permission from the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, then governor of Flanders, to make levies in those provinces without noise or avowing it, and marched with his army into the States' dominions, and took a place or two even in the sight of prince Maurice, (who drew as many of the States' troops together as could be spared out of their garrisons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after he had found in some light skirmishes that they were not firm;) so that the bishop, by the advantage of the situation of which he was possessed, began to fasten himself in full assurance of increasing his army, in spite of all discouragements, before the spring, (and he had already received some troops out of Flanders, and advertisement from other of his officers, that they were well advanced in their levies:) the king of France in this conjuncture, in the imperious style he customarily used in those cases, sent

[t] would] could

to the governor of Flanders for a license for such troops, as he had occasion to send into Germany, to pass through such a part of his government; which as he had no mind to grant, so he durst not deny, having orders from Spain to be very careful, that no disgusts might be given to France which might give any occasion, or pretence, or opportunity for a breach, which they well knew was desired and longed for. 1666.

Upon this permission the French troops marched into Flanders: and in the first place, whether in their way or out of their way, they fell upon the levies which were made for the bishop, and routed and dispersed them, or took them prisoners. In one place, by the strength of their quarter and a neighbour church, they defended themselves, imagining the country would relieve them, without suspecting that they had license and permission to march through: but they were so much inferior in number or strength, that after some of them were killed, the rest were glad to throw down their arms and become prisoners at mercy, the officers not comprehending what declared enemy could fall upon them in those quarters. With this triumph they marched, and joined with prince Maurice by the time the bishop had notice of the disaster, and speedily advanced upon his quarters, and beat some of his troops.

Upon which the poor bishop (who instead of the supplies and commissions and other countenance that he had reason to expect from those princes, who had been privy and with great promises encouraged his enterprise, received every day arguments from them against his proceeding further, with many

1666. conjurations, that he would entirely submit to the king of France's determination) found himself necessitated to comply, and even heart-broken signed a treaty with the French, who then were careful enough both of his honour and interest in the conditions with the Dutch, as for an ally of whom they meant to make more use in another conjuncture. Upon all which the bishop had been much more excusable, if he had not received some of the king's money, even after he saw that he should be obliged to sign the treaty; which he ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before he had any such intention, and to which, it cannot be denied, he had most forcible compulsions.

And at length force him to make a peace with the Dutch.

This was the most sensible blow, but the plague, that the king had felt from the beginning of the war, and was instance enough how terrible the king of France was to all the neighbour kings and princes, who had so suddenly departed from their own inclinations and resolutions, and from their own interest, only upon his insinuations, which became orders to them. And Spain, if they knew that which all the world besides discerned, could not but believe that France would break all treaties as soon as the other king should die, the news of which was expected and provided for every week. But the drowsy temper of that monarch, who had been so much disquieted throughout his whole reign, extended so far only as to prepare a stock of peace that would last during his own time, that he saw would be very short, and to leave his dominions and his infant son to shift for themselves when he was dead: and it was an unhappy maxim of that state, that it was the best husbandry to purchase present

peace and present money at how dear interest soever for the future, which would be assisted with some new expedients, as Spain had always been. 1666.

All these disadvantages made the king the more solicitous to have but one enemy to struggle with, though it were France: and therefore he was very solicitous, by all ways he could devise, to make a peace with Holland, and to leave Denmark to their own inventions; and he had some encouragement to believe, that it was not impossible to separate Holland from France. They were sensible enough, that they had been upon the matter betrayed into the war, by the positive promise of assistance, and a firm conjunction from France in the instant that the war should be entered upon, without any mention of mediation or interposition for peace, which was against their desire; and that they had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleased to see them beaten, and their own people ready to rise against the government. Then they knew that France did already provide for an expedition against Flanders, which could not long defend itself with its own forces; and that they depended upon this war between England and the Dutch, as what must hinder both those nations from giving it assistance: and they as well knew what their own portion must be, when that screen was removed, that was their best security against so mighty a neighbour. And this De Wit himself, who was the chief supporter of the war, frequently observed and confessed to those with whom he had most conversation, and in whom he was believed to have most trust: and all those advertisements were transmitted to the king by those whose integrity could not be suspected, and

The king desirous of uniting with Holland against France.

The Dutch jealous of France.

1666. who did not dissemble, being of the States themselves, to be very desirous of peace and very jealous of France.

Character of M. Bewett a gentleman of great weight in Holland.

There was a gentleman, one monsieur Bewett, of a good family in France and born there, but long bred in Holland whilst the wars were there, and who had been captain in the last prince of Orange's horse-guards, and in very particular favour with him, by which he was married to a woman of Holland very rich, and very nearly allied to many of those who had the greatest influence upon the government; and who[u] was now looked upon rather as a Dutchman than a Frenchman, and conversed most familiarly amongst the burgomasters, and other principal persons of the States. And by this interest, after the death of the prince of Orange, that troop was still preserved for a guard to the States, and was the only horse-troop that remained constantly in the Hague. And for the better pleasing the people, it was still called the Prince of Orange's Guard, and continued to wear the same livery it had always done: and the young prince took much delight to see them, and to hear himself called by them their captain; and the commander thereof, Bewett, professed and paid the same devotion to him that he had done to his father.

This gentleman was generally beloved, and held a man of great sincerity, brave in point of courage, and of good parts of wit and judgment, save that he was immoderately given to wine and to the excess of it, which, being the disease or rather the health of the country, made him not the worse thought of or

[u] who] *Not in MS.*

less fit for business. He was well known to the king, and well thought of by him, and had great familiarity with some of the bedchamber, and others near the king and trusted by him. He had made a journey once, since the king's return into England, only to kiss his hand, and profess the same affection and duty he had often done when his majesty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him. 1666.

He was a bold speaker, and from the time that the war was begun against England much inveighed against the counsel that persuaded it, as very pernicious to the affairs of that country; and in this argument used not more freedom with any than with De Wit himself, who loved his person and his spirit, and conversed very freely with him, though he knew his friendships were chiefly with the dependents upon the house of Orange, and with others of the States who were of his own opinion with reference to the war: and the publishing his opinion drew many of the greatest interest amongst the burgomasters to delight in his conversation, and to trust him much. With those he consulted freely what means should be used to procure a peace, and prevent[x] the mischief that must attend the continuance of the war[y], with good sense and judgment: but those consultations were always in the exercise of drinking, which never ended without the utmost excess, though without noise or disquiet or unkindness, which are never the effects of those excesses amongst that people.

After the first battle, when the Dutch were so

[x] prevent] *Omitted in MS.* [y] of the war] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. much beaten, and the people in that consternation that they called aloud for peace, and reviled all those who were thought to be against it, and amongst those De Wit principally, who had the more enemies, and peace the more friends, for the differences which had arisen amongst the officers of the fleet upon the death of Opdam, and upon the disgrace which Trump had undergone by the power and injustice, as they said, of De Wit upon personal dislikes, and because he was known to have great affection for the prince of Orange, (and Van Trump himself, as hath been said, was not only of much interest amongst the seamen, but very popular in the government, and had his sisters married to burgomasters in some of the greatest towns; so that the disgrace of him increased the number of De Wit's enemies:) in this conjuncture Bewett cultivated the best he could all those ill humours, how mutinous soever, which grew most importunate for peace; yet without any reflection upon the person of De Wit, with whom he was known by the company he most kept to have much familiarity, and whom he did at that time really believe to be inclined to peace, and declared he did think so to those who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worse of him for being deceived, being assured he would never deceive them for want of integrity.

H is endeavours to bring about a peace.

But he took advantage of this general distemper and of the prejudice the people had against him, to talk very frankly to De Wit of both; and admired, "since he did, as he professed, desire peace, that he "would not find some way to undeceive the people, "which was necessary for his own security; and it "might easily be effected, by giving a beginning to

" such a consultation as might look towards an ac- 1666.
" commodation." De Wit had his spies in all places, and knew well what company Bewett most delighted in, though his acquaintance was universal and agreeable to all men: and he was informed too of his particular behaviour with reference to him, and that he did constantly and confidently vindicate him from many imputations, in the presence of those who were not pleased with his contradictions; so that he looked upon him as his friend, and one that might by his interest and credit divert some of that popular envy and malice, of which he had no contempt, but much apprehension.

De Wit pretends to desire a peace.

He renewed his former professions of his desire of peace, and gave so good reasons for it as might naturally gain belief; amongst which one was always a vehement jealousy of France, " which," he said, " though it had at last declared war against Eng-
" land, which they ought to have done so long be-
" fore, had done it only[z] to draw England into
" some conditions which might facilitate their own
" enterprise upon Flanders, which it concerned
" them to prevent by all the ways possible; of
" which none would be so probable as a peace
" between England and them, which would imme-
" diately make each solicitous for their own interest.
" But how to set any thing on foot that might con-
" tribute to this he knew not; and the doing that
" which the other had proposed, by declaring him-
" self, was the way only to slacken all the provi-
" sions for war, the expediting of which would most
" advance a peace."

[z] had done it only] was only

1666. Bewett replied, "that he knew he had many "friends in the English court, whereof some were "of near trust about his majesty, for whose secrecy "he would be accountable;" and named the lord Arlington, who had lately married a lady of the Hague, the daughter of monsieur Beverwaert, a person in his quality and fortune in the first rank. He offered to him, "that he would himself write "such a letter to the lord Arlington in his own "name, which he should first see and approve, "without which he would not send it, as should "only testify his own good wishes for a peace be-"tween the two nations, which were not unknown "to the king himself; and would make no other "mention of him, than that he had reason to believe, "that monsieur De Wit (in whose good opinion he "had the honour to be known to have some place) "would not be unwilling to promote any good over-"ture that should be made." After some debate he was content that he should write, provided that he would promise to write nothing but what he should first see, and would still bring the answers to him which he should receive; to which the other consented.

Bewett enters into a correspondence with the English court with De Wit's consent.

Upon this encouragement he begun his correspondence with the lord Arlington, and acquainted his bosom-friends with it, to dispose them the more to hope for peace, and to look upon De Wit as not averse to it. But what he writ was with so much wariness, being dictated upon the matter by the pensioner, that it could draw no other answers from the secretary but of the same style, with expressions of his majesty's desire of peace and esteem of De Wit, and as if he expected some overtures to arise

from thence. This intelligence had not been long on foot, but he begun to suspect the sincerity of De Wit, and that indeed he was not so well inclined to peace as he had pretended to be: his countenance was not so open, nor he so vacant when he came, as he used to be; he grew less jealous of the French, and more composed himself, and less apprehensive of the people, as he found them more composed, and a greater concurrence in the making all things ready for the fleet. All which observations he likewise imparted to his companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived; and from that time he was apter to concur with them in the fiercer counsels, how to compass a peace in spite of him by a majority of votes in the States, with the help of the people, for the suppression of any accidental insurrection whereof[a], there were no other forces in view than those horse-guards that were commanded by him. 1666. He soon suspects De Wit's sincerity. And resolves to get a peace in opposition to him.

Hereupon he took a new resolution, but would not lose the advantage he had by the knowledge De Wit had of his correspondence, and therefore shewed him a letter that he had received from the lord Arlington, in which he pressed him "to inform "him, what particulars would dispose the States to "peace, and to separate from the French," and had sent him a cipher for the more free and safe communication; which cipher he deposited in the hands of De Wit, having received his directions and observed them by using the same cipher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the answer to put an end to that correspondence, of which he

[a] for the suppression of any accidental insurrection whereof] for any accidental suppression whereof

1666. grew weary, and less confident of the person, because he heard that he was grown less zealous in his defence than he had been.

He settles a secret correspondence with the English court.

Bewett upon this grew more resolute one way and less apprehensive the other way, and sent a person with whom he had great friendship, and who was well known to the king and most about him, monsieur Silvius, a servant to the late princess royal, and a native of Orange, with a full account "of the "state of the counsels at the Hague, and his disco- "very that De Wit did not in truth desire a peace, "nor would consent to it, but upon very unreason- "able terms," whereof some were mentioned in his letter in cipher which he had dictated; "but that "he was most assured, that he should be compelled "at the next assembly of the States to submit to "more reasonable conditions." He gave the king an account of the ground of his confidence, and an information of the persons who were combined together to press it in the States, amongst which there were some of the greatest power: and by their advice he offered the substance of a message they wished the king should send to the States General at the time of their convening, in which there was nothing contained against which any thing could be objected on his majesty's behalf; and "upon the de- "livery thereof there would so few adhere to De "Wit, that he should not be able to prevent a treaty, "though France should protest against it." He sent likewise at the same time, and by the same person, another cipher to the lord Arlington, with direction "that in such letters as were intended for the view "of the pensioner the former cipher should be used, "and in the other letters, which were to be concealed

"from him, and which were for the most part to 1666.
"contain intelligence and advice against him, the
"latter cipher was only to be made use of."

Those informations by Silvius, who was a man of parts, and had dependance upon the duke of York, and meant not to return into Holland except upon a pressing occasion, when he durst adventure to go, being looked upon as an inhabitant of the Hague, having been always bred there, and his relation to the duke scarce yet taken notice of; I say, those informations the king thought to be worthy to be well considered, and conferred with the chancellor upon the whole, and appointed the lord Arlington to inform him of all that had passed from the beginning; and that Silvius, who was concealed, that they might have no advertisement in Holland of his having been in England, should likewise attend him in some evening; which he shortly after did, and made him an ample and clear relation of the state of the counsels at the Hague, and the several factions amongst them, and the distemper of the people. He had himself spoken with many of the burgomasters and others in authority, who were privy to his coming, and communicated the method they meant to proceed in towards the depressing De Wit, by mingling the proposition for peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which the people thought to be inseparable.

In fine, he gave a perfect good account of all to which he was instructed, with great modesty: and when the chancellor, to whom Bewett and he were both well known, would have induced him to deliver somewhat of his own judgment, whether he thought that combination to be strong enough to

1666. overrule De Wit; he could draw no other answer from him than the magnifying the credit and interest of Bewett, which he seemed principally to rely upon, and the impossibility that he should fail in point of integrity or courage.

Silvius had settled a sure way of correspondence, and by every post received fresh intelligence of the preparations and progress Bewett and his friends made in their designs, of the success whereof they were every day more confident, and thought their party so much to increase, that as they did not apprehend any discovery like to be made by treachery, so they did not seem to fear it, if De Wit himself should know all that they intended: and they pressed very earnestly, "that the king's letter, in the manner they had proposed, might be at the Hague "when the General States were to meet," the time whereof approached.

The king called those to him to whom the whole negociation had been imparted, to advise what was to be done. On the king's part nothing was considerable, but whether he should write to the States at all, and what he should write; and against writing there seemed to be no objection, and as little against writing what they advised, which was no more than he had formerly writ, and always said to their ambassador. And that this might be a more favourable conjuncture for the good reception of it, and hearkening to it, his majesty was reasonably to believe those who meant to second and promote it with their own reasons: and therefore the time and the manner of the delivery of it was left to be resolved amongst themselves, the king having no minister there to present it.

The way that they had thought of was, that Bewett should at the proper time deliver it to De Wit, who durst not conceal it, and if he should, there would be ways enough to publish it to his reproach; nor could he take any advantage of Bewett for his correspondence with their enemies, because it had been entered into with his approbation. But for the better security in the sending it, and the better information of the persons engaged, of all the reflections which had been made by the king, and those with whom he had conferred by his majesty's order, it was thought best that Silvius should return; and if Bewett thought fit to decline the delivery of the king's letter, and no better way could be found for the delivery of it, he might present it in the manner his friends there should direct, and avow his having been at London to solicit his own pretences since the death of the princess royal his mistress, and that he had received the letter from the king's own hand. This being the concurrent opinion of all, and the gentleman himself willing to undertake it, Silvius was despatched. 1666.

In the debate of the matter, the king asked the chancellor "what he thought of the design, and "whether he thought it would succeed;" who said, "he doubted it much, and that it would conclude in "the loss of poor Bewett's head, who had not a talent "for the managery of an affair of that weight, which "would require great secrecy and great sobriety, "and the consideration of more particulars at once "than his comprehension could contain together." Then he did not like the method they proposed, of joining the demand of peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which, though it might pro-

1666. bably follow the peace and be an effect of it, would not be seasonable to be joined with it in regard of his infancy; and that many did heartily desire the peace, who had no mind that the prince should be restored to the offices of his father and family, or that there should be any debate of it, till the prince came to the age that was provided by the solemn act and declaration of the States: which had been the reason that his majesty (who had all the tenderness for his nephew that a parent could have) would never be persuaded to mention him (though it had been proposed by many, and even by the elector of Brandenburgh and the princess dowager) in the conditions of the peace; the king foreseeing that De Wit would have been glad to have that advantage, as to observe to the people, that the king would prescribe to them what officers they should choose and admit into their government, and that they must have no peace, except they would take a general and a stadtholder and an admiral of his nomination, which was to make them subject to himself.

And this was the reason, that in all conferences with the French ambassadors, who sometimes would mention the prince of Orange with compassion for the ingratitude of the States towards him, and add, "that they doubted not their master would be ready "to join with his majesty in doing him all offices;" and sometimes when the Dutch ambassador (who was of that party that did really wish the restoration of the prince) in conference would seem to wish and to believe, that the restoring the prince of Orange would be the consequence of the peace: the king never gave other answer, than "that he should "be very glad that the States would gratify his ne-

" phew; but that it was a matter he had nothing to 1666.
" do to interpose in, it depending wholly upon their
" own good-will and pleasure."

The rest who were present had much more esteem of Bewett than the chancellor had, (who thought as well of his courage and integrity as they did,) and believed he would have success in what he designed, his interest in the right of his wife being confessedly very great amongst the States, and his jolly course of living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to men of the most different affections; and then of all the officers of the militia he was most esteemed, which was like to be of moment, if the dispute brought the matter to a struggle: but the event shewed the contrary.

After Silvius's departure, letters passed between them, as they had used to do, for two or three posts. And Bewett one day meeting De Wit when he came from his good fellows, and they walking a turn together in common discourse, De Wit asked him, " when he had any letter from England, and " how affairs went there:" to which he suddenly answered, " that he came just then from receiving " one, which he had not yet deciphered," and put his hand into his pocket, and took thence a letter; and casting his eyes (which were never good, and now worse by the company he had left) upon the superscription, he gave it to him, and said, " he would " go with him that they might decipher it together " according to custom."

Bewett's secret correspondence accidentally discovered by De Wit.

De Wit presently found that it was not the accustomed cipher, (for he had delivered the wrong letter, that which he ought not to see,) and desired him " that he would walk before, and he would pre-

1666. "sently overtake him, after he had spoken a few "words at a house in his way." And so leaving him, he took present order for the apprehending him and searching his pockets; and at the same time sent to his house, and caused his cabinet, where all his papers were, to be examined and sealed up. And so poor Bewett, whilst he stayed at the other's house that they might decipher the letter, was apprehended, and all his papers taken out of his pockets, and he sent to prison. The other cipher was quickly found, and many letters and other papers, which discovered many secrets. Whereupon a court of justice was speedily erected: and within three days, according to the expedition used there in such cases, a scaffold was erected, and the poor gentleman brought thither in the sight of all his friends; and there, with his known courage, and in few words declaring "that he had honest purposes "to the country," lost his head.

Upon which he is executed.

His friends obliged to fly.

Silvius quickly heard of his imprisonment, and as soon thought it necessary to make his own escape, and arrived in England before he heard of his last misfortune, which he did not suspect, nor knew how the discovery had been made. The knot, thus broken, dispersed themselves: most of them got into Flanders; the burgomaster of Rotterdam, and two or three others of note, made all the haste they could into England; some thought themselves secure in Antwerp and other parts of Flanders; and some were seized upon in several places of the States' dominions, and imprisoned with all the circumstances of severity, though upon the want of clear proofs few of them were put to death. The troop of guards was reformed, or rather transformed,

under new officers, and assigned for a constant guard to the States, without the least formal relation to the prince of Orange, or using his name or livery, or permission to pay any reverence to him. And so the prince was much lower than before, and all hopes of reviving almost extinguished or expired; De Wit stood firmer upon his own feet than ever, and directed all preparations for the war without control; and all the present expectation in England vanished: whilst the pensionary informed France of the dangers he had escaped for them, and what great matters had been offered to him if he would have departed from their interest; and made the plot to contain all that he fancied it might have done. 1666.

When the parliament at Oxford was prorogued, it was to a day in April: but the king had reason to believe that they would not so soon be in good humour enough to give more money, which was the principal end of calling them together. And the dregs of the plague still remaining, and venting its malignity in many burials every week, his majesty thought fit to dispense with their attendance at that time by a proclamation: and he caused it at the day to be prorogued to the twentieth of September following. In the mean time the court abounded in all its excesses. There had been some hope during the abode at Oxford, that the queen had been with child; and whilst that hope lasted, the king lived with more constraint and caution, and prepared to make himself worthy of that blessing: and there are many reasons to believe, besides his own natural good inclinations, that if God had vouchsafed to have given him a child, and the queen that blessing

1666. to have merited from him, he would have restrained all those inordinate appetites and delights; and that he would seriously have applied himself to his government, and cut off all those extravagant expenses of money and time, which disturbed and corrupted the evenness of his own nature and the sincerity of his intentions, and exposed him to the temptations of those who had all the traps and snares to catch and detain him.

The queen miscarries.

The imagination of the queen's breeding was one cause of her stay there; and her stay there was the longer, because she miscarried when she intended to begin her journey. And though the doctors declared that it was a real miscarriage, ripe enough to make a judgment of the sex; yet some of the women who had more credit with the king assured him, "that "it was only a false conception, and that she had "not been at all with child:" insomuch that his majesty, who had been so confident upon a former occasion [b], as to declare to the queen his mother and to others, "that upon his own knowledge her ma-"jesty had miscarried of a son," suffered himself now to be so totally convinced by those ladies and other women, that he did as positively believe that she never had, never could be, with child. And from that time he took little pleasure in her conversation, and more indulged to himself all liberties in the conversation of those, who used all their skill to supply him with divertisements, which might drive all that was serious out of his thoughts, and make him undervalue those whom he had used, and still did most trust and employ, in what he thought most important; though he sometimes thought many

Great license in the court.

[b] occasion] *Omitted in MS.*

things not of importance, which in the consequence were of the highest. 1666.

The lady, who had never declined in favour, was now greater in power than ever: she was with child again, and well enough contented that his majesty should entertain an amour with another lady, and made a very strict friendship with her, it may be the more diligently out of confidence that he would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without doubt the king's passion was stronger towards that other lady, than ever it was to any other woman: and she carried it with that discretion and modesty, that she made no other use of it than for the convenience of her own fortune and subsistence, which was narrow enough; never seemed disposed to interpose in the least degree in business, nor to speak ill of any body; which kind of nature and temper the more inflamed the king's affection, who did not in his nature love a busy woman, and had an aversion from speaking with any woman, or hearing them speak, of any business but to that purpose he thought them all made for, however they broke in afterwards upon him to all other purposes.

The lady herself, who every day (as was said before) grew in power and credit, did not yet presume to interpose in any other business, than in giving all the imaginable countenance she could to those who desired to depend upon her, and, in their right as well as her own, in depressing the credit of those who she knew wished hers much less than it was; but in this last argument she was hitherto wary, and took only such opportunities as were offered, without going out of her way to find them. Her principal business was to get an estate for herself and

1666. her children, which she thought the king at least as much concerned to provide as she to solicit; which however she would not be wanting in, and so procured round sums of money out of the privy purse, (where she had placed Mr. May,) and other assignations in other names, and so the less taken notice of, though in great proportions: all which yet amounted to little more than to pay her debts, which she had in few years contracted to an unimaginable greatness, and to defray her constant expenses, which were very excessive in coaches and horses, clothes and jewels, without any thing of generosity, or gratifying any of her family, or so much as paying any of her father's debts, whereof some were very clamorous. Her name was not used in any suits for the grant of lands; for besides that there was no avowing or public mention of natural children, she did think the chancellor and treasurer willing to obstruct such grants, and desired not to have any occasion to try the kindness of either of them: and so all the suits she made of that kind were with reference to Ireland, where they had no title to obstruct, nor natural opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that kingdom she procured the grant of several great quantities of land, like to prove of great benefit and value to her or her children.

An attempt to raise jealousies in the king of his brother.

The chief design they now began to design, and the worst they could ever design, was to raise a jealousy in the king of his brother, to which his majesty was not in any degree inclined, and had in truth a just affection for him and confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural parts than he thought there was cause for; and yet, which made

it the more wondered at, he did very often depart in matters of the highest moment from his own judgment to comply with his brother, who was instructed, by those who too well knew the king's nature, to adhere to any thing he once advised, and to be importunate in any thing he proposed; in which he prevailed the more easily, because he never used it in any thing that concerned himself or his own benefit. 1666.

The temper and disposition of the Stuart family.

The truth is, it was the unhappy fate and constitution of that family, that they trusted naturally the judgments of those, who were as much inferior to them in understanding as they were in quality, before their own, which was very good; and suffered even their natures, which disposed them to virtue and justice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by those, who knew how to make use of some one infirmity that they discovered in them; and by complying with that, and cherishing and serving it, they by degrees wrought upon the mass, and sacrificed all the other good inclinations to that single vice. They were too much inclined to like men at first sight, and did not love the conversation of men of many more years than themselves, and thought age not only troublesome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and less to strangers than to their friends; not out of bounty or generosity, which was a flower that did never grow naturally in the heart of either of the families, that of Stuart or the other of Bourbon, but out of an unskilfulness and defect in the countenance: and when they prevailed with themselves to make some pause rather than [c] to deny, importunity removed all resolution,

[c] than] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. which they knew neither how to shut out nor to defend themselves against, even when it was evident enough that they had much rather not consent; which often made that which would have looked like bounty lose all its grace and lustre.

Particularly of the king and duke.

If the duke seemed to be more firm and fixed in his resolutions, it was rather from an obstinacy in his will, which he defended by aversion from the debate, than from [d] the constancy of his judgment, which was more subject to persons than to arguments, and so as changeable at least as the king's, which was in greatest danger by surprise: and from this want of steadiness and irresolution (whencesoever the infirmity proceeded) most of the misfortunes, which attended either of them or their servants who served them honestly, had their [e] rise and growth; of which there will be shortly an occasion, and too frequently, to say much more. In the mean time it cannot be denied, and was observed and confessed by all, that never any prince had a more humble and dutiful condescension and submission to an elder brother, than the duke had towards the king: his whole demeanour and behaviour was so full of reverence, that it [f] might have given example to be imitated by those, who ought but did not observe a greater distance. And the conscience and resentment he had within himself, for the sally he had made in Flanders, made him after so wary in his actions, and so abhorring to hear any thing that might lessen his awe for the king, that no man who had most credit with him [g] durst approach towards any thing of that kind; so that there was never less

[d] from] by
[e] their] its
[f] it] *Not in MS.*
[g] him] *Omitted in MS.*

ground of jealousy than of him. And (as was said before) the king (who was in his nature so far from any kind of jealousy, that he was too much inclined to make interpretations of many words and actions, which might reasonably harbour other apprehensions) was as incapable of any infusions which might lessen his confidence in his brother, as any noble and virtuous mind could be. And therefore those ill men, who began about this time to sow that cursed seed that grew up to bear a large crop of the worst and rankest jealousy in the succeeding time, did not presume to make any reflection upon the duke himself, but upon his wife, "upon the state she assumed, "and the height of the whole family, that lived in "much more plenty," they said, "than the king's, "and were more regarded abroad." 1666.

Endeavours used to lessen the king's esteem of the duchess.

Such kind of people are never without some particular stories of the persons whom they desire to deprave: and so they [h] had many instances, which they used upon all occasions, of some levity or vanity, of some words affected by the duchess, or some outward carriage; true or false, which for the most part concluded in mirth and laughter, and seemed ridiculous; which was the method they used in all their approaches of that kind towards the highest acts of malice, first to make the person, whom they hoped to ruin in the end, less esteemed, by the acting and presentation of his words and gestures and motions; which commonly is attended with laughter. And this is the first breach they make upon any man's reputation; and the frequent custom of this kind of laughter and mirth, which is easily pro-

[h] they] *Not in MS.*

1666. duced without any malice, doth in the end open a space large enough to let in[i] calumny and scandal enough to weaken, if not to destroy, the best built reputation.

This was the course they held with reference to the duchess, whom the king had from the beginning treated with great grace and favour, and considered her as a woman of more than ordinary wit[k] and understanding: and the queen mother had from the reconciliation used her with that abundant affection and familiarity that was very wonderful; and the heights she assumed, and all that greatness which many thought too much, were[l] not only inculcated, but enjoined by the queen as a duty due to her husband, of whose high degree she thought she could not be too tender and careful. And she had the happiness so well to behave herself towards the duke, that he was exceedingly pleased with her, and lived towards her with an affection so remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the public discourse and commendation; and which made the liberties that were taken elsewhere the more spoken of and censured. It was very visible that he liked her company and conversation very well, and was believed to communicate all his counsels, and all he knew or thought, without reserve to her; which, being so contrary to the professed doctrine of the court, administered occasion to the men of mirth, in those seasons which took up a good part of every night, to be very pleasant upon the government of the duchess, and the submission of the duke[m]; in which there were always some witty reflections upon

[i] in] *Omitted in MS.*
[k] ordinary wit] an ordinary wit
[l] were] was
[m] of the duke] *Not in MS.*

the chancellor. And this kind of liberty, being first grateful to the king for the wit that accompanied it and the mirth that it produced, grew by the custom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and public observation of the disparity in the lives of the two brothers made it wished, that there were no more of that strictness in the one place than in the other, towards which there wanted not application and advice accordingly as well as example. 1666.

In the mean time the chancellor had a hard part to act, being neither able to do the good he constantly endeavoured on one side, nor remove the ill he disliked on the other side; for he saw well the mischief that would inevitably follow the great expenses of the duke, which exceeded all limits, and could never be provided for; and thought the duchess to be blamed for what she spent upon herself, and used all the credit he had with both to begin in time to reform what necessity would shortly do with more dishonour: but the disease had grown from the first ill digestion.

The lord Berkley had upon the king's first arrival formed a family without rule or precedent, and made the servants in a much better condition than the master, by assigning liberal pensions and allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their places, without considering from what fund they should arise: and now they all would have the duke believe, "that he spent not too much; but that he "had too little provision assigned to him for his qua-"lity and relation, and that[n] this proceeded from the

[n] that] *Not in MS.*

1666. "neglect in the chancellor, who was able, if he en-
"deavoured it, to persuade the king to enlarge it to
"a just proportion." And this was as much urged to the duchess as to the duke, and it made in her a greater impression; and though she had in all other respects a very entire affection and even a duty and resignation to her father, yet in this he had no authority with her, nor did she think him a competent judge what expenses princes should make: and having seen the state and lustre in which the duke of Anjou lived in France, and having received many infusions from the queen, of the great defect in the customs of England, in providing either for the respect or for the support of the younger sons of the crown, she thought that[o] the chancellor should rather use his credit for the enlarging that narrowness, which the king was enough disposed to, than to reform their expenses. But of this enough.

The plague had really swept away and destroyed so many seamen, (Stepney and the places adjacent, which were their common habitations, being almost depopulated,) that now, all other obstructions being removed, there seemed even an impossibility to procure sailors and mariners enough to set out the fleet; insomuch as they found it necessary to press many watermen, and to disfurnish all merchant ships which were prepared to be set out to the plantations or to other places of trade: all which turned not so much to benefit one way, as it did to loss another way. But the best way to expedite all things was the two admirals going to the fleet themselves,

[o] she thought that] and that

that they who resolved to go might hasten thither, 1666.
and that they who had no mind to go might, out of shame, likewise accompany them.

There appeared great unanimity and consent between them. Only prince Rupert had a great desire to go in a ship apart, and that they might not be both in one [p] ship: but upon debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a time of action the orders could not be the same, if they who gave them were not together and in the same place; and so the prince was persuaded not to be positive in that particular. And so they both went together, and took leave of the king towards the end of April, and laboured so effectually, (as they were both men of great dexterity and indefatigable industry in such conjunctures,) that they carried the fleet out to sea, well fitted and provided, by the middle of May; with which they presently visited the coast of Holland, and took many prizes; and, by the intelligence they met with, concluded that the Dutch fleet would not be ready in a month, of which they gave the king advertisement, and returned into the Downs. And prince Rupert at the same time expressed an inclination to go himself with part of the fleet to meet the duke of Beaufort, who was reported to be under sail to join with the Dutch, and "that they would not put to sea till they foresaw "that they were like to join about Calais."

The fleet puts to sea under prince Rupert and the general.

The occasion of the division of the fleet.

At or near the same time the lord Arlington received intelligence, "that the Dutch were not yet "well manned; and that the ships which were in

[p] one] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. "the Texel, and were to join with the other under "De Ruyter in the Wierings, were more unpro- "vided:" though at the same time secretary Morrice (who had always better intelligence from Holland) was assured from thence, "that all the ships "in both places were so ready that they would join "within very few days." But the lord Arlington, who thought he ought to be more believed, received as positive advertisement from France, "that the "duke of Beaufort set sail from Brest on such a "day:" and though the wind had not been yet directly favourable for him, it was concluded that he must be well advanced in his way, and he had no port to friend till he came to the coast of France near Calais.

Upon this there seemed a great desire that prince Rupert might take the course he had proposed; for the convenience was agreed to be very great, if the French could be met with before the conjunction. However, the council was so wary that at that time attended the king at Worcester-house, the chancellor being affected with the gout, that they advised the king "not to send positive orders for the divid- "ing the fleet, which by many accidents might "produce inconveniences; but rather to send two "of the council to the fleet, with an account of "all the intelligence, and the reflections which oc- "curred to the king upon it." And hereupon sir George Carteret and sir William Coventry were presently sent, and carried such orders with them, as would be necessary if the generals had not other intelligence, or did think that the division was not liable to more objections than had been in view.

And this caution I set down more particularly, because the council underwent reproaches which it did not deserve. 1666.

The two counsellors used such expedition, and found so good conveniences by land and water, that they returned to the king the next day with an account, "that the state of the Dutch fleet was confirmed to be the same that his majesty had heard, "and that they believed the other concerning the "duke of Beaufort to be very probable; whereupon they had concluded with a mutual consent "and approbation, that prince Rupert should take "twenty of the ships, which he had already chosen, "to meet the French, though they were superior in "number, whilst the general remained in the Downs "with the rest: and in order to this, that the prince "went aboard his ship before they came away, and "the rather, because the wind was so much against "him, that his majesty's orders, if he found cause "to send any, would be sure for some days to find "him upon the western coast; and the wind that "was against him was so favourable to the duke of "Beaufort, that it was probable they might speedily "meet, and in a place to be wished." The king saw no cause yet to send orders to the contrary; and this was the reason, and all the circumstances, of the separation of the fleet, that proved unfortunate.

It appeared very soon after, which secretary had the better intelligence: for the very next day after the departure of the prince, the general, who remained in the Downs, had certain intelligence that the Dutch were come out of their harbours, having it seems received intelligence likewise of the French

1666. fleet's being at sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do so; which had deceived the court, they believing that they stayed because they were not ready to come out; whereas they were ready, and expected only the other advertisement.

As soon as the general was informed, he sent notice presently to the duke late in the same evening, who, informing the king of it, gave orders to sir William Coventry to prepare orders to prince Rupert immediately to return; and if those orders had been carefully despatched, they might have come to the prince before the morning. But sir William Coventry thought he had done his part when he got the order signed, which was about twelve of the clock at night, and then sent them by his servant to the lord Arlington, whose part he thought it was to charge a messenger with them: but he was gone to bed, and his servants durst not disquiet him, a tenderness not accustomed to be in the family of a secretary. But whether they did not wake him, as he pretended, or being awake he deferred it, it was not sent away till the next day, and never came to prince Rupert's hand till he had turned his sails upon the thunder of the cannon; and he no sooner endeavoured to return, but the wind chopped about to retard him, that he could make little way that day or the night following. Whose fault it was that these important orders were not sent with more expedition, whether sir William Coventry ought not to have taken care for the conveying them, at least to have given the lord Arlington notice what the contents of them were, of which he denied to have any notice, was disputed with some warmth between

A neglect in forwarding an order to prince Rupert to rejoin the fleet.

themselves, and so came to be published: but it was never examined any where else, though the negligence was very mischievous in its effect; but they were both too great men to be questioned in any judicatory. 1666.

The general, after the notice he had received of the motion of the Dutch, ordered the fleet to weigh anchor about three of the clock in the morning upon the first of June 1666, to sail to the Buoy of the Gunfleet to join with some other ships which lay there, to get more men, being then but ill manned: and about seven of the clock in the morning the scouts came in, and brought the general notice, that the Dutch fleet was to the leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting till they might join with the French. And it had been to be wished that the English had stood off too, upon confidence that prince Rupert, whom the wind had kept from being far off, as they could not but know, would receive direction from court to return. But the general (who was as impatient upon the sight of an enemy to engage with him as prince Rupert himself, and had a natural contempt of the Dutch) called his flag-officers to council, and quickly resolved, "that "it was not convenient nor safe nor honourable to "decline the battle, lest it might take off the pre-"sent courage of the seamen." And truly in all those consultations, upon the like occasions, whoever proposed any wary advice ran great hazard of being reputed a coward. And so they bore up with a full wind upon the enemy, notwithstanding the visible disadvantage they were in, in respect of the strength of the enemy, for in the absence of prince Rupert there remained little above fifty sail with

The Dutch fleet comes out.

1666. the general; whereas De Ruyter's fleet consisted of above fourscore sail, who easily perceived his advantage, and that a great part of the English fleet was absent, and so willingly embraced the occasion, and made what sail he could to meet with them.

The second general engagement.

It was about two of the clock in the afternoon when the engagement began; and the English had got the wind, which was so high that they could not

The first day's action.

carry out their lower tiers. The admiral was so shattered in his rigging and masts, that he was compelled to get off and anchor, that he might mend what was amiss; and many of his squadron had their main-yards shot off, and received such damage in their tackling, which was the chief aim of the Dutch, that they could hardly govern their ships. And by this means the enemy got the wind; and the battle continued with great fierceness, and loss of many men on both sides, till nine or ten of the clock at night, when all were willing to have some rest.

The second day's action.

That night was spent in repairing masts and rigging: and at six of the clock in the morning the battle began again with the same fierceness, and lasted till night. And that day the Dutch suffered much, and one of their vice-admirals was boarded and afterwards sunk, as many of their other ships

The Dutch reinforced.

likewise were; so that they began to fall of: when sixteen new great ships came to their aid, which gave them new courage; so that they renewed and maintained the fight with great resolution, and killed many men of the English, and disabled many of the ships, till the night again parted them.

The English retire.

Upon the account the general received that night, and the new access of force to the Dutch, he

thought it necessary to retire; for though he had lost no ship, very many were so disabled, that there was reason to fear they would hardly hold out to recover the shore. And thereupon he caused all those ships to be put before and make all the sail they could, and himself with sixteen ships in a breadth went in the rear: which as soon as the enemy perceived, they pursued, but came not within reach of their guns till four of the clock in the afternoon; and then, though they shot hard, they did very little harm, the sternpieces of the English overreaching their broadsides, which made many of them get off as quickly as they could. But by this time the English descried about twenty sail of ships standing towards them, which they concluded to be prince Rupert, (as it proved:) and so being earnest to join, they edged up towards them, but so unfortunately, that many of the flag ships were on ground off the Galloper-sand. But with much ado they all got off safe, the Royal Prince only excepted, which for this last age, and till the late war, was held the best ship in the world. This brave ship stuck so fast, that no art or industry could move her; so that the enemy, when they found they could not carry her off, set her on fire, and took the captain, sir George Ayscue, and all the company prisoners, and without distinction used all with great barbarity, in which they pretended only to use retaliation. That night prince Rupert joined: and then they bore to the northward, that they might get clear of the sands; and thereby the enemy got the wind again.

1666.

The third day's action.

Prince Rupert comes up with his squadron.

The fourth day of the battle, which was the fourth of June, the enemy being to windward about

The fourth day's action.

1666. three leagues, the generals in the morning made all sail towards them: and they lay with their sails to the masts to stay for them, which they would not have had the courage to have done, if they had not had intelligence from the prisoners of the Prince, in how tattered a condition the fleet was. The battle began about eight of the clock in the morning with extraordinary confidence on both sides, the Dutch continuing their old guard, to spend all their shot upon the rigging and masts, and to defend themselves from being boarded, which the English most intended and laboured to do. But the design of the others succeeded better: insomuch that one of the vice-admirals of a squadron, and other of the best ships, were so disabled that they bore off from the battle, that they might mend and repair; which gave no small encouragement to the enemy. But the two generals were invincible, and continued the battle all the day in several forms, and by the advantage of the wind fired six or seven of their ships, and sunk others, and had two or three of their own likewise sunk. And between six and seven at night, as if by consent, (and no doubt both sides were very weary of the encounter,) they separated without looking after each other, and hastened to their several coasts; many of the English being so hurt in yards, masts, rigging, and hulls, many of them wanting men to ply their guns, and their powder and shot near spent, that with very much difficulty they got into harbour: and so concluded that great action, wherein either side pretended to have advantage, and both lost very much.

Both sides claim the victory.

The next day after the battle was spent in fitting their masts and repairing their rigging, that they

might be able to reach the coast: and when they came near it, the generals called a council about disposing those ships which could not remain at sea, and sent them to such several places as they might be soonest repaired in; and gave every captain very strict order, "that all possible diligence and "expedition should be used to get their ships ready, "and furnished with whatsoever was wanting;" and the commissioners of the navy were required to be assistant in all places. And so wonderful diligence was used, (which appears almost incredible,) that the whole fleet was so well fitted, that by the seventeenth day of the same month, within a fortnight after so terrible a battle, it was gathered together to a rendezvous to the Buoy of the Nore. The enemy made as much haste, rather to meet with the French, who were every day still expected, than to fight with the English, and kept as near to their own coast as conveniently they could: so that how ready soever the generals were (who had never left their ships) with the fleet by the seventeenth of the month, the winds were so averse or so calm, that it was the four and twentieth day of that month before they could reach the sight of the enemy. 1666.

The third general engagement.

And the next day, which was the twenty-fifth, the English made all the sail they could, and by ten in the morning engaged in as hot an encounter as had hitherto been in any engagement: and though the Dutch seemed not to fight with the same spirit and mettle, yet the battle held till two in the afternoon, when by the advantage of the wind they bore away faster than the English could follow. However, here they took vice-admiral Banchart, and his ship of threescore guns and three hundred

The English victorious.

1666. men was burned; and another ship of seventy guns and three hundred men was likewise taken and burned; which the generals thought better, than to undergo the possible inconvenience of keeping them: and so they kept up as close to the enemy in the night as they could do. The next morning they used all their sails, and designed to board De Ruyter; which, the wind lessening, they could not effect, he fighting very well, but running faster: and so, though very well pursued, he got into his fastness at the Wierings, with those who were nearest to him. But the rest who were further off, and were like to have the benefit of the night, tacked about: which they who attacked De Ruyter perceiving, and that they could follow him no further, and that the rest were five and forty sail, they followed them, the generals doing all they could with their squadron to put themselves between them and the coast; but the wind growing on a sudden calm, about midnight they dropped their anchors, that they might not be driven further than they had a mind to be. But in the morning, when they weighed anchor to pursue them, and made all the way they could with a little wind, the enemy got so close to their own shore, their ships drawing less water than the English, that there could be no further pursuit.

Another part of the fleet, which was separated when De Ruyter got into the Wierings, and which the generals looked upon as their own, was so unhappily pursued, though by men of very good name, that they escaped; which raised a great distemper in the fleet, whilst some officers of the prime and most unquestionable courage charged and accused others, who had always given great testimony

that they durst do any thing, " of base declining to 1666.
" fight when the enemy was in their power, and
" that they chose rather to suffer them to escape
" than to encounter them." And this dispute and expostulation, between men who had many seconds, divided the generals, one declaring himself on the one side as the other did on the other [q]; but they wisely laid aside the debate, till they should be at more leisure with less inconvenience to determine it.

The generals thereupon, having thus scattered the enemy, resolved to ply upon the Dutch coast to take all ships of trade, which they did; and off the Texel and the Flie took many prizes [r], both homeward and outward bound, of great value. And they having now nothing to do but to lie still, there was a Dutch captain, one Laurence Van Humskerke, who after the first battle, in the faction between Evertson and Van Trump, had given De Wit so great an advantage, that if he had not made his escape, he had been hanged, who from that time had always been on board with prince Rupert: this man, whilst the fleet lay in this posture, advised prince Rupert to attempt a place near the Flie, which was so locked in the land that it was always looked upon as very secure, (and where all ships laden at Amsterdam for the Straits and those parts, when they were outward bound, used to lie two or three days, as in a safe port, until all things which might be forgotten were prepared [s], and all the company came together,) and had never been invaded in any war; and by it was a pretty large village, called Schelling, which had many good houses in it, besides

The attempt upon the island of Schelling.

[q] as the other did on the other] and the other .

[r] prizes] rich prizes

[s] were prepared] *Not in MS.*

1666. others inhabited by, and for the entertainment of, seamen.

This enterprise was committed to sir Robert Holmes, a very bold and expert man; who, with a number of small vessels very well manned, besides a body of stout foot to land upon occasions, being assisted by the Dutchman, so vigorously assaulted it, that he burned all the Dutch ships lying there, being of inestimable value, all outward bound, and some of them worth above one hundred thousand pounds each ship. They burned likewise the whole town of Schelling; which conflagration, with that of the ships, appearing at the break of day so near Amsterdam, put that place into that consternation that they thought the day of judgment was come, not thinking of their ships there, as being out of the power or reach of any enemy: and no doubt it was the greatest loss that state sustained in the whole war, that is, greater than all the rest. And as this victory, if it can be called a victory when there is no resistance, occasioned great triumph in England, so it raised great thoughts of heart in De Wit, and a resolution of revenge before any peace should be consented to; which they effected to a good degree the next year.

The chief town and a large fleet of merchant ships burnt.

There appeared no more likelihood of the Dutch coming out again: so about the fifteenth of August the generals returned to Southwould Bay, to receive a recruit of men, provisions, and ammunition, having left ships enough upon the coast of Holland to take prizes, and scouts upon the coast to get intelligence in what readiness the enemy's fleet was, and what was done within the land. And about the twenty-seventh a little pink, that waited upon the coast of

Zealand, brought notice that the enemy, consisting of about fourscore sail of ships, were ready to come out from the Wierings; and the next day they were assured that they were come out and bound westward, by which they concluded that they had hope to join the French fleet. Whereupon the generals gave present orders to unmoor the fleet; and weighing anchor about seven of the clock in the morning stood to sea, and about noon discovered the Dutch fleet about four leagues to the leeward. The generals made all sail towards them: but the enemy stood away for the coast of Flanders, whilst the English were so entangled upon the Galloper-sands, that they could not stand after the enemy till late in the afternoon; so that it was night before they came near each other, and then several guns were fired to little purpose. 1666. The Dutch fleet puts to sea again.

The next morning, being the first of September, the season when the winds begin to grow boisterous, they had, upon the breaking of the day, lost the sight of the enemy, though they[t] believed that they had bore up in the night for them: but when it was light, they found that they were to the leeward, as far as they could discover, near St. John's Bay beyond Calais. The English pursued them, and making some stay for the fireships, which could not make haste by reason of the blustering weather, it was four in the afternoon before the fleet came up together to them; when De Ruyter made a show as if he would draw off from the shore towards them. But when he saw the English stand with him and advance with their usual resolution, he

[t] though they] and

1666. tacked back again, and stood close in to the shore, where the rest of the fleet was, in the Bay of Staples.

The English fleet dispersed by a storm.

And then the night came, and the wind blew so violently, that the English were forced to tack, and many of the ships were forced to the leeward, the night being so foul, that neither the generals nor the chief flags could be discerned. And though the storm continued very violent the next day, a good part of the fleet got again together, and stood to the Bay of Staples, where the Dutch still remained close under the shore at anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the English found it necessary to stand further out to the sea; and then they discovered the rest of the fleet at a great distance to the leeward, and so bore after them, and at night they all arrived at St. Helen's Point. And though the tempest still increased, a squadron went every day out to the coast of France.

The French fleet has a narrow escape.

In this tempest the French fleet had a very narrow escape, by a providence they are seldom without. A gentleman of good quality of that nation returned at this time out of England, (whither they repaired with as much liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no war, whilst no Englishman could be safe there;) and landing at Calais, and finding that the duke of Beaufort was every day expected, he despatched two or three barks to find him, with information how and where the English lay; one of which came so luckily to him towards the evening, that he changed his course, and by the darkness of the night got into the road of Dieppe, where he dropped his anchors. But his vice-admiral, being the biggest and the best ship but one in the fleet, and carrying seventy pieces of cannon,

pursuing the course he was directed, in the dark of the night fell amongst the English, as the rest had done if it had not been for that advertisement; and after a little defending himself, which he saw was to no purpose, was taken prisoner, and desired to be brought to prince Rupert, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant person ought to be, and caused many things which belonged to his own person to be restored to him; and when he was brought into England, he found another kind of reception (though he was prisoner in the Tower) than any of the English, though of the same quality, met with abroad. By this accident the French fleet made a happy escape[u]: and the continuance of the storm for many days kept the English and the Dutch from any further engagement. But the same winds, and at the same time, did much more mischief at land than at sea. 1666.

The fire of London.

It was upon the first day of that September, in the dismal year of 1666, (in which many prodigies were expected, and so many really fell out,) that that memorable and terrible fire brake out in London, which begun about midnight, or nearer the morning of Sunday, in a baker's house at the end of Thames-street next the Tower, there being many little narrow alleys and very poor houses about the place where it first appeared; and then finding such store of combustible materials, as that street is always furnished with in timber-houses, the fire prevailed so powerfully, that that whole street and the neighbourhood was in so short a time turned to ashes, that few persons had time to save and preserve any

[u] escape] *Erroneously in MS.* estate

1666. of their goods; but were a heap of people almost as dead with the sudden distraction, as the ruins were which they sustained. The magistrates of the city assembled quickly together, and with the usual remedies of buckets, which they were provided with: but the fire was too ravenous to be extinguished with such quantities of water as those instruments could apply to it, and fastened still upon new materials before it had destroyed the old. And though it raged furiously all that day, to that degree that all men stood amazed, as spectators only, no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the magistrates what orders to give; yet it kept within some compass, burned what was next, and laid hold only on both sides; and the greatest apprehension was of the Tower, and all considerations entered upon how to secure that place.

But in the night the wind changed, and carried the danger from thence, but with so great and irresistible violence, that as it kept the English and Dutch fleets from grappling when they were so near each other, so it scattered the fire from pursuing the line it was in with all its force, and spread it over the city: so that they, who went late to bed at a great distance from any place where the fire prevailed, were awakened before morning with their own houses being in a flame; and whilst endeavour was used to quench that, other houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no place from whence they could imagine the fire could come; all which kindled another fire in the breasts of men, almost as dangerous as that within their houses.

Monday morning produced first a jealousy, and

then an universal conclusion, that this fire came not by chance, nor did they care where it began; but the breaking out in several places at so great distance from each other made it evident, that it was by conspiracy and combination. And this determination could not hold long without discovery of the wicked authors, who were concluded to be all the Dutch and all the French in the town, though they had inhabited the same places above twenty years. All of that kind, or, if they were strangers, of what nation soever, were laid hold of; and after all the ill usage that can consist in words, and some blows and kicks, they were thrown into prison. And shortly after, the same conclusion comprehended all the Roman catholics[x], who were in the same predicament of guilt and danger, and quickly found that their only safety consisted in keeping within doors; and yet some of them, and of quality, were taken by force out of their houses, and carried to prison. 1666.

When this rage spread as far as the fire, and every hour brought reports of some bloody effects of it, worse than in truth there were, the king distributed many of the privy-council into several quarters of the city, to prevent, by their authorities, those inhumanities which he heard were committed. In the mean time, even they or any other person thought it not[y] safe to declare, "that they believed "that the fire came by accident, or that it was not a "plot of the Dutch and the French and papists to "burn the city;" which was so generally believed, and in the best company, that he who said the con-

[x] the Roman catholics] the Roman catholics, the papists

[y] not] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. trary was suspected for a conspirator, or at best a favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a house that was distant a mile from any part of the fire could suddenly be in a flame, without some particular malice; and this case fell out every hour. When a man at the furthest end of Bread-street had made a shift to get out of his house his best and most portable goods, because the fire had approached near them; he no sooner had secured them, as he thought, in some friend's house in Holborn, which was believed a safe distance, but he saw that very house, and none else near it, in a sudden flame. Nor did there want, in this woful distemper, the testimony of witnesses who saw this villany committed, and apprehended men who they were ready to swear threw fireballs into houses, which were presently burning.

The lord Hollis and lord Ashley, who had their quarters assigned about Newgate-market and the streets adjacent, had many brought to them in custody for crimes of this nature; and saw, within a very little distance from the place where they were, the people gathered together in great disorder; and as they came nearer saw a man in the middle of them without a hat or cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill used, whom they knew to be a servant to the Portugal ambassador, who was presently brought to them. And a substantial citizen was ready to take his oath, "that he saw that man put his hand "in his pocket, and throw into a shop a fireball; "upon which he saw the house immediately on fire: "whereupon, being on the other side of the way, "and seeing this, he cried out to the people to stop "that gentleman, and made all the haste he could

" himself;" but the people had first seized upon him, and taken away his sword, which he was ready to draw; and he not speaking nor understanding English, they had used him in the manner set down before. The lord Hollis told him what he was accused of, and "that he was seen to have thrown "somewhat out of his pocket, which they thought "to be a fireball, into a house which was now on "fire:" and the people had diligently searched his pockets to find more of the same commodities, but found nothing that they meant to accuse him of. The man standing in great amazement to hear he was so charged, the lord Hollis asked him, "what it was that he pulled out of his pocket, and "what it was he threw into the house:" to which he answered, "that he did not think that he had put his "hand into his pocket; but he remembered very "well, that as he walked in the street, he saw a "piece of bread upon the ground, which he took up, "and laid upon a shelf in the next house;" which is a custom or superstition so natural to the Portuguese, that if the king of Portugal were walking, and saw a piece of bread upon the ground, he would take it up with his own hand, and keep it till he saw a fit place to lay it down. 1666.

The house being in view, the lords with many of the people walked to it, and found the piece of bread just within the door upon a board, where he said he laid it; and the house on fire was two doors beyond it, which the man who was on the other side of the way, and saw this man put his hand into the house without staying, and presently after the fire break out, concluded to be the same house; which was very natural in the fright that all men

1666. were in: nor did the lords, though they were satisfied, set the poor man at liberty; but, as if there remained ground enough of suspicion, committed him to the constable, to be kept by him in his own house for some hours, when they pretended they would examine him again. Nor were any persons who were seized upon in the same manner, as multitudes were in all the parts of the town, especially if they were strangers or papists, presently discharged, when there was no reasonable ground to suspect; but all sent to prison, where they were in much more security than they could have been in full liberty, after they were once known to have been suspected; and most of them understood their commitment to be upon that ground, and were glad of it.

The fire and the wind continued in the same excess all Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday till afternoon, and flung and scattered brands burning into all quarters; the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the same, the light of the fire supplying that of the sun. And indeed whoever was an eyewitness of that terrible prospect, can never have so lively an image of the last conflagration till he beholds it; the faces of all people in a wonderful dejection and discomposure, not knowing where they could repose themselves for one hour's sleep, and no distance thought secure from the fire, which suddenly started up before it was suspected; so that people left their houses and carried away their goods from many places which received no hurt, and whither they afterwards returned again; all the fields full of women and children, who had made a shift to bring thither some goods and conveniences to rest

upon, as safer than any houses, where yet they felt such intolerable heat and drought, as if they had been in the middle of the fire. The king and the duke, who rode from one place to another, and put themselves into great dangers amongst the burning and falling houses, to give advice and direction what was to be done, underwent as much fatigue as the meanest, and had as little sleep or rest; and the faces of all men appeared ghastly and in the highest confusion. The country sent in carts to help those miserable people who had saved any goods: and by this means, and the help of coaches, all the neighbour villages were filled with more people than they could contain, and more goods than they could find room for; so that those fields became likewise as full as the other about London and Westminster. 1666.

It was observed that where the fire prevailed most, when it met with brick buildings, if it was not repulsed, it was so well resisted that it made a much slower progress; and when it had done its worst, that the timber and all the combustible matter fell, it fell down to the bottom within the house, and the walls stood and enclosed the fire, and it was burned out without making a further progress in many of those places; and then the vacancy so interrupted the fury of it, that many times the two or three next houses stood without much damage. Besides the spreading, insomuch as all London seemed but one fire in the breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full fury a direct line to the Thames side, all Cheapside from beyond the Exchange, through Fleet-street; insomuch as for that breadth, taking in both sides as far as the Thames, there was scarce a house or church standing from the bridge to Dor-

1666. set-house, which was burned on Tuesday night after Baynard's-castle.

On Wednesday morning, when the king saw that neither the fire decreased nor the wind lessened, he even despaired of preserving Whitehall, but was more afraid of Westminster-abbey. But having observed by his having visited all places, that where there were any vacant places between the houses, by which the progress of the fire was interrupted, it changed its course and went to the other side; he gave order for pulling down many houses about Whitehall, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice goods by water to Hampton-Court; as most of the persons of quality in the Strand, who had the benefit of the river, got barges and other vessels, and sent their furniture for their houses to some houses some miles out of the town. And very many on both sides the Strand, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what they did, fled with their families out of their houses into the streets, that they might not be within when the fire fell upon their houses.

The fire decreases.

But it pleased God, contrary to all expectation, that on Wednesday, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, the wind fell: and as in an instant the fire decreased, having burned all on the Thames side to the new buildings of the Inner Temple next to White-friars, and having consumed them, was stopped by that vacancy from proceeding further into that house; but laid hold on some old buildings which joined to Ram-alley, and swept all those into Fleet-street. And the other side being likewise destroyed to Fetter-lane, it advanced no further; but left the other part of Fleet-street to the Temple-bar,

and all the Strand, unhurt, but what damage the owners of the houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other parts of the town near the same time: so that the greatest care then was, to keep good guards to watch the fire that was upon the ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, because they who had yet their houses standing had not the courage to sleep, but watched with much less distraction; though the same distemper still remained in the utmost extent, "that all this "had fallen out by the conspiracy of the French and "Dutch with the papists;" and all gaols were filled with those who were every hour apprehended upon that jealousy; or rather upon some evidence that they were guilty of the crime. And the people were so sottish, that they believed that all the French in the town (which no doubt were a very great number) were drawn into a body, to prosecute those by the sword who were preserved from the fire: and the inhabitants of a whole street have ran in a great tumult one way, upon the rumour that the French were marching at the other end of it; so terrified men were with their own apprehensions. 1666.

When the night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the consternation, the first care the king took was, that the country might speedily supply markets in all places, that they who had saved themselves from burning might not be in danger of starving; and if there had not been extraordinary care and diligence used, many would have perished that way. The vast destruction of corn, and all other sorts of provisions, in those parts where the fire had prevailed, had not only left all that

1666. people destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the bakers and brewers, which inhabited the other parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their houses, and carried away all that was portable: insomuch as many days passed, before they were enough in their wits and in their houses to fall to their occupations; and those parts of the town which God had spared and preserved were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they who were in the fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a supply of all kinds was brought from all places within four and twenty hours. And which was more miraculous, in four days, in all the fields about the town, which had seemed covered with those whose habitations were burned, and with the goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man to be seen: all found shelter in so short a time, either in those parts which remained of the city and in the suburbs, or in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expressing a marvellous charity towards those who appeared to be undone. And very many, with more expedition than can be conceived, set up little sheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houses, where they chose rather to inhabit than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reside in those new buildings.

The king was not more troubled at any particular, than at the imagination which possessed the hearts of so many, that all this mischief had fallen out by a real and formed conspiracy; which, albeit he saw no colour to believe, he found very many intelligent men, and even some of his own council, who did really believe it. Whereupon he appointed the privy-council to sit both morning and evening,

to examine all evidence of that kind that should be brought before them, and to send for any persons who had been committed to prison upon some evidence that made the greatest noise; and sent for the lord chief justice, who was in the country, to come to the town for the better examination of all suggestions and allegations of that kind, there having been some malicious report scattered about the town, "that the court had so great a prejudice against "any kind of testimony of such a conspiracy, that "they discountenanced all witnesses who came be-"fore them to testify what they knew;" which was without any colour of truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their testimony would remove all doubts, made such senseless relations of what they had been told, without knowing the condition of the persons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard matter to forbear smiling at their evidence. Some Frenchmen's houses had been searched, in which had been found many of those shells for squibs and other fireworks, frequently used in nights of joy and triumph; and the men were well known, and had lived many years there by that trade, and had no other: and one of these was the king's servant, and employed by the office of ordnance for making grenades of all kinds, as well for the hand as for mortarpieces. Yet these men were looked upon as in the number of the conspirators, and remained still in prison till their neighbours solicited for their liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general rage of the people no mischief was done to the strangers, that no one of them was assassinated outright, though many were sorely beaten and bruised. 1666.

1666. There was a very odd accident that confirmed many in what they were inclined to believe, and startled others, who thought the conspiracy impossible, since no combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that mischief, in which the immediate hand of God was so visible. Amongst many Frenchmen who had been sent to Newgate, there was one Hubert, a young man of five or six and twenty years of age, the son of a famous watchmaker in the city of Roan; and this fellow had wrought in the same profession with several men in London, and had for many years, both in Roan and in London, been looked upon as distracted. This man confessed "that he had set the first house "on fire, and that he had been hired in Paris a year "before to do it: that there were three more com-"bined with him to do the same thing; and that "they came over together into England to put it in "execution in the time of the plague: but when "they were in London, he and two of his compa-"nions went into Sweden, and returned from thence "in the latter end of August, and he resolved to "undertake it; and that the two others went away "into France."

Hubert's strange confession.

The whole examination was so senseless, that the chief justice, who was not looked upon as a man who wanted rigour, did not believe any thing he said. He was asked, "who it was in Paris that "suborned him to this action:" to which he answered, "that he did not know, having never seen him "before;" and in the enlarging upon that point he contradicted himself in many particulars. Being asked "what money he had received to perform a "service of so much hazard," he said, "he had re-

" ceived but a pistole, but was promised five pistoles 1666.
" more when he should have done his work;" and many such unreasonable things, that nobody present credited any thing he said. However, they durst not slight the evidence, but put him to a particular, in which he so fully confirmed all that he had said before, that they were surprised with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, " if he knew the place where he first put " fire:" he answered, " that he knew it very well, " and would shew it to any body." Upon this the chief justice, and many aldermen who sat with him, sent a guard of substantial citizens with the prisoner, that he might shew them the house; and they first led him to a place at some distance from it, and asked him " if that were it:" to which he answered presently, " No, it was lower, nearer to the Thames." The house and all which were near it were so covered and buried in ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where their own houses[z] had stood: but this man led them directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows, and where he first put the fire; and all this with such exactness, that they who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars.

This silenced all further doubts. And though the chief justice told the king, " that all his discourse " was so disjointed that he did not believe him " guilty;" nor was there one man who prosecuted or accused him: yet upon his own confession, and

[z] their own houses] his own house

1666. so sensible a relation of all that he had done, accompanied with so many circumstances, (though[a] without the least show of compunction or sorrow for what he said he had done, nor yet seeming to justify or to take delight in it; but being asked whether he was not sorry for the wickedness, and whether he intended to do so much, he gave no answer at all, or made reply to what was said; and with the same temper died,) the jury found him guilty, and he was executed accordingly. And though no man could imagine any reason why a man should so desperately throw away his life, which he might have saved though he had been guilty, since he was only accused upon his own confession; yet neither the judges nor any present at the trial did believe him guilty, but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest examination that could be afterwards made by the king's command, and then by the diligence of the house, that upon the general jealousy and rumour made a committee, that was very diligent and solicitous to make that discovery, there was never any probable evidence (that poor creature's only excepted) that there was any other cause of that woful fire, than the displeasure of God Almighty: the first accident of the beginning in a baker's house, where there was so great a stock of fagots, and the neighbourhood of much combustible matter, of pitch and rosin and the like, led it[b] in an instant from house to house through Thames-street, with the agitation of so terrible a wind to scatter and disperse it.

Upon which he is executed.

[a] though] *Not in MS.*

[b] led it] that led it

Let the cause be what it would, the effect was very terrible; for above two parts of three of that great city were burned to ashes, and those the most rich and wealthy parts of the city, where the greatest warehouses and the best shops stood. The Royal Exchange with all the streets about it, Lombard-street, Cheapside, Paternoster-row, St. Paul's church, and almost all the other churches in the city, with the Old Bailey, Ludgate, all Paul's churchyard even to the Thames, and the greatest part of Fleet-street, all which were places the best inhabited, were all burned without one house remaining. 1666.

The value or estimate of what that devouring fire consumed, over and above the houses, could never be computed in any degree: for besides that the first night (which in a moment swept away the vast wealth of Thames-street) there was not[c] any thing that could be preserved in respect of the suddenness and amazement, (all people being in their beds till the fire was in their houses, and so could save nothing but themselves,) the next day with the violence of the wind increased the distraction; nor did many believe that the fire was near them, or that they had reason to remove their goods, till it was upon them, and rendered it impossible. Then it fell out at a season in the year, the beginning of September, when very many of the substantial citizens and other wealthy men were in the country, whereof many had not left a servant in their houses, thinking themselves upon all ordinary accidents more secure in the goodness and kindness of their neighbours, than they could be in the fidelity of a servant; and whatsoever was in such houses was

The inestimable loss sustained by the fire.

[c] not] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. entirely consumed by the fire, or lost as to the owners. And of this classis of absent men, when the fire came where the lawyers had houses, as they had in many places, especially Sergeants-Inn in Fleet-street, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it and White-friars, there was scarce a man to whom those lodgings appertained who was in Town: so that whatsoever was there, their money, books, and papers, besides the evidences of many men's estates deposited in their hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great value. But of particular men's losses could never be made any computation.

It was an incredible damage that was and might rationally be computed to be sustained by one small company, the company of stationers, in books, paper, and the other lesser commodities which are vendible in that corporation, which amounted to no less than two hundred thousand pounds: in which prodigious loss there was one circumstance very lamentable. All those who dwelt near Paul's carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's church, before the fire came thither: which vaults, though all the church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else, in the fire, made them very desirous to see what they had saved [d], upon which all their hopes were founded to repair the rest.

[d] saved] lost

It was the fourth day after the fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the booksellers especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which to that moment was safe: but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the driest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to some lesser vaults, at a distance from that greater, had better fortune; and having learned from the second ruin of their friends to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguished the fire in all places, and cooled the air: and then they securely opened the doors, and received all from thence that they had there. 1666.

If so vast a damage as two hundred thousand pounds befell that little company of stationers in books and paper and the like, what shall we conceive was lost in cloth, (of which the country clothiers lost all that they had brought up to Blackwell-hall against Michaelmas, which was all burned with that fair structure,) in silks of all kinds, in linen, and those richer manufactures? Not to speak of money, plate, and jewels, whereof some were recovered out of the ruins of those houses which the owners took care to watch, as containing somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which deluge there were men ready enough to fish.

The lord mayor, though a very honest man, was

1666. much blamed for want of sagacity in the first night of the fire, before the wind gave it much advancement: for though he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men, nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the present distress; and when men who were less terrified with the object pressed him very earnestly, "that he would give order for the "present pulling down those houses which were "nearest, and by which the fire climbed to go fur-"ther," (the doing whereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the mischief that succeeded,) he thought it not safe counsel, and made no other answer, "than that he durst not do it with-"out the consent of the owners." His want of skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some gentlemen of the Inner Temple would not endeavour to preserve the goods which were in the lodgings of absent persons, nor suffer others to do it, "because," they said, "it was against "the law to break up any man's chamber."

The so sudden repair of those formidable ruins, and the giving so great beauty to all deformity, (a beauty and a lustre that city had never before been acquainted with,) is little less wonderful than the fire that consumed it.

It was hoped and expected that this prodigious and universal calamity, for the effects of it covered the whole kingdom, would have made impression, and produced some reformation in the license of the court: for as the pains the king had taken night and day during the fire, and the dangers he had ex-

posed himself to, even for the saving the citizens' goods, had been very notorious, and in the mouths of all men, with good wishes and prayers for him; so his majesty had been heard during that time to speak with great piety and devotion of the displeasure that God was provoked to. And no doubt the deep sense of it did raise many good thoughts and purposes in his royal breast. But he was narrowly watched and looked to, that such melancholic thoughts[e] might not long possess him, the consequence and effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the fire itself; of which that loose company that was too much cherished, even before it was extinguished, discoursed as of an argument for mirth and wit to describe the wildness of the confusion all people were in; in which the scripture itself was used with equal liberty, when they could apply it to their profane purposes. And Mr. May presumed to assure the king, "that this was the "greatest blessing that God had ever conferred upon "him, his restoration only excepted: for the walls "and gates being now burned and thrown down of "that rebellious city, which was always an enemy "to the crown, his majesty would never suffer them "to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in "his mouth and a bridle upon his neck; but would "keep all open, that his troops might enter upon "them whenever he thought necessary for his ser-"vice, there being no other way to govern that rude "multitude but by force."

1666.

The king seriously affected with this calamity.

Measures taken to efface such good impressions in him;

This kind of discourse did not please the king, but was highly approved by the company; and for

[e] thoughts] *Not in MS.*

36999

1666. the wit and pleasantness of it was repeated in all companies, infinitely to the king's disservice, and corrupted the affections of the citizens and of the country, who used and assumed the same liberty to publish the profaneness and atheism of the court. And as nothing was done there in private, so it was made more public in pasquils and libels, which were as bold with reflections of the broadest nature upon the king himself, and upon those in whose company he was most delighted, as upon the meanest person.

All men of virtue and sobriety, of which there were very many in the king's family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what they could not choose but hear, and seeing many things which they could not avoid the seeing. There were few of the council that did not to one another lament the excesses, which must in time be attended with fatal consequences, and for the present did apparently lessen the reverence to the king, that is the best support of his royalty: but few of them had the courage to say that to his majesty, which was not so fit to be said to any body else. Nor can it be denied, that his majesty did, upon all occasions, receive those advertisements from those who presented them to him, with patience and benignity, and without the least show of displeasure; though the persons concerned endeavoured no one thing more than to persuade him, "that it was the highest presumption imaginable in the privy-council to believe, that they had any jurisdiction in the court, or ought to censure the manners of it."

And to lessen his esteem of the privy-council.

Nor were all those endeavours without making some impression upon his majesty, who rather esteemed some particular members of it, than was

inclined to believe that the body of it ought to receive a reverence from the people, or be looked upon as a vital part of the government: in which his majesty (as hath been often said before) by the ill principles he had received in France, and the accustomed liberty of his bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily mistaken. For by the constitution of the kingdom, and the very laws and customs of the nation, as the privy-council and every member of it is of the king's sole choice and election of him to that trust, (for the greatest office in the state, though conferred likewise by the king himself, doth not qualify the officer to be of the privy-council, or to be present in it, before by a new assignation that honour is bestowed on him, and that he be sworn of the council;) so the body of it is the most sacred, and hath the greatest authority in the government of the state, next the person of the king himself, to whom all other powers are equally subject: and no king of England can so well secure his own just prerogative, or preserve it from violation, as by a strict defending and supporting the dignity of his privy-council. 1666.

When it was too much taken notice of, that the king himself had not that esteem or consideration of the council that was due to it, what they did or ordered to be done was less valued by the people; and that disrespect every day improved by the want of gravity and justice and constancy in the proceedings there, the resolutions of one day being reversed or altered the next, either upon some whispers in the king's ear, or some new fancy in some of those counsellors, who were always of one mind against all former orders and precedents; the pride and in-

1666. solent humour of sir William Coventry taking not so much delight in any thing, as to cross and oppose whatsoever the chancellor or the treasurer advised, and to reverse what had been ordered upon that ground. And though he had sucked his milk at the charge of the law, no man was so professed an enemy to it and to the professors of it, and shewed so little[f] respect to any thing passed and granted under the great seal of England, but spake against it with the same confidence as if it had been a common scroll of no signification; which kind of behaviour in a person unqualified by any office to speak much in such an assembly, as it had never been accustomed, so it would have found much reprehension there, if it had not been for respect to the duke, and if the king himself had not very often declared himself to be of his opinion, even in particulars which himself had caused to be proposed to a contrary purpose.

One day his majesty called the chancellor to him, and complained very much of the license that was assumed in the coffeehouses, which were the places where the boldest calumnies and scandals were raised, and discoursed amongst a people who knew not each other, and came together only for that communication, and from thence were propagated over the kingdom; and mentioned some particular rumours which had been lately dispersed from those fountains, which on his own behalf he was enough displeased with, and asked him what was to be done in it.

The chancellor concurred with him in the sense

[f] so little] no more

of the scandal, and the mischief that must attend the impunity of such places, where the foulest imputations were laid upon the government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every body but to the magistrates, who might examine and punish them; of which there having yet been no precedent, people generally believed that those houses had a charter of privilege to speak what they would, without being in danger to be called in question: and "that it was high time for "his majesty to apply some remedy to such a grow- "ing disease, and to reform the understanding of "those who believed that no remedy could be ap- "plied to it. That it would be fit, either by a pro- "clamation to forbid all persons to resort to those "houses, and so totally to suppress them; or to em- "ploy some spies, who, being present in the conver- "sation, might be ready to charge and accuse the "persons who had talked with most license in a "subject that would bear a complaint; upon which "the proceedings might be in such a manner, as "would put an end to the confidence that was only "mischievous in those meetings." The king liked both the expedients, and thought that the last could not justly be made use of till the former should give fair warning; and commanded him to propose it that same day in council, that some order might be given in it. 1666.

The chancellor proposed it, as he was required, with such arguments as were like to move with men who knew the inconveniences which arose from those places; and the king himself mentioned it with passion, as derogatory to the government, and directed that the attorney might prepare a procla-

1666. mation for the suppression of those houses, in which the board seemed to agree: when sir William Coventry, who had been heard within few days before to inveigh with much fierceness against the permission of so much seditious prattle in the impunity of those houses, stood up and said, "that coffee was a "commodity that yielded the king a good revenue, "and therefore it would not be just to receive the "duties and inhibit the sale of it, which many men "found to be very good for their health," as if it might not be bought and drank but in those licentious meetings. "That it had been permitted in "Cromwell's time, and that the king's friends had "used more liberty of speech in those places than "they durst do in any other; and that he thought "it would be better to leave them as they were, "without running the hazard of ill being continued, "notwithstanding his command to the contrary." And upon these reasons his majesty was converted, and declined any further debate; which put the chancellor very much out of countenance, nor knew he how to behave himself.

The chancellor's interest declines: whilst the courtiers affect to represent it at the highest.

The truth is, he had a very hard province, and found his credit every day to decay with the king; whilst they who prevailed against him used all the skill and cunning they had to make it believed, "that his power with his majesty was as great as it "had ever been, and that all those things which he "most opposed were acted by his advice." And whilst they procured all those for whom he had kindness, or who professed any respect towards him, to be discountenanced and undervalued, and preferred none but such who were known to have an aversion for him upon somewhat that he had, or

they had been told that he had, obstructed their pretences in; they persuaded men, "that nobody "had any credit with the king to dispose of any "place but he." 1666.

Those very men would often profess to him, "that "they were so much afflicted at the king's course of "life, that they even despaired that he would be "able to master those difficulties which would still "press him;" and would then tell him some particulars which he himself had said or done, or had been said or done lately in his own presence, and of which he had never heard before; which gave him occasion often to blame them, "that they, who had[g] "the opportunity to see and know many things "which he had no notice of or could not take any, "and foresaw the consequence that did attend them, "did yet forbear to use the credit they had with his "majesty, in advertising him what they thought "and heard all others say;" and he offered "to go "with them to his majesty, and make a lively repre-"sentation to him of the great decay of his reputa-"tion with the people upon his exorbitant excesses, "which God could never bless:" to all which they were not ashamed to confess, "that they never had "nor durst speak to his majesty to that purpose, or "in such a dialect." Indeed they were the honester men in not doing it, for it had been gross hypocrisy to have found fault with those actions, upon the pursuing whereof they most depended; and the reformation which they would have been glad to have seen, had no relation to those inordinate and unlawful appetites, which were the root from whence all

[g] who had] having

1666. the other mischiefs had their birth. They did not wish that the lady's authority and power should be lessened, much less extinguished; and that which would have been the most universal blessing to the whole kingdom, would have been received by them as the greatest curse that could befall them.

Arlington laments to the chancellor the king's course of life: the king enters the room.

One day the chancellor and the lord Arlington were together alone, and the secretary, according to his custom, was speaking soberly of many great miscarriages by the license of the court, and how much his majesty suffered thereby; when the king suddenly came into the room to them, and after he was sat asked them what they were talking of: to which the chancellor answered, "that he would tell him "honestly and truly, and was not sorry for the op-

To whom the chancellor repeats the discourse.

"portunity." And the other looking with a very troubled countenance, he proceeded and said, "that "they were speaking of his majesty, and, as they "did frequently, were bewailing the unhappy life he "lived, both with respect to himself, who, by the "excess of pleasures which he indulged to himself, "was indeed without the true delight and relish of "any; and in respect to his government, which he "totally neglected, and of which the kingdom was "so sensible, that it could not be long before he felt "the ill effects of it. That the people were well "prepared and well inclined to obey; but if they "found that he either would not or could not com-"mand, their temper would quickly be changed, and "he would find less obedience in all places, than "was necessary for his affairs: and that it was too "evident and visible, that he had already lost very "much of the affection and reverence the nation "had for him."

He said, "that this was the subject they two 1666.
"were discoursing upon when his majesty entered;
"and that it is the argument, upon which all those
"of his council with whom he had any conversation
"did every day enlarge, when they were together,
"with grief of heart, and even with tears; and that
"he hoped that some of them did, with that duty
"that became them, represent to his majesty their
"own sense, and the sense his good subjects had, of
"his condition of living, both with reference to God,
"who had wrought such miracles for him, and ex-
"pected some proportionable return; and with re-
"ference to his people, who were in the highest dis-
"content. He doubted all men did not discharge
"their duty this way; and some had confessed to
"him that they durst not do it, lest they might
"offend him, which he had assured them often that
"they would not do, having had so often experience
"himself of his goodness in that respect[h]; and that
"he had the rather taken this opportunity to make
"this representation to him in the presence of an-
"other, which he had never used to do:" and con-
cluded "with beseeching his majesty to believe that
"which he had often said to him, that no prince
"could be more miserable, nor could have more rea-
"son to fear his own ruin, than he who hath no
"servants who dare contradict him in his opinions,
"or advise him against his inclinations, how natural
"soever."

The king heard all this and more to the same effect with his usual temper, (for he was a patient hearer,) and spake sensibly, as if he thought that

[h] in that respect] *Not in MS.*

1666. much that had been said was with too much reason; when the other, who wished not such an effect from the discourse, instead of seconding any thing that had been said, made use of the warmth the chancellor was in, and of some expressions he had used, to fall into raillery, which was his best faculty; with which he diverted the king from any further serious reflections; and both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his overmuch severity, now he grew old, and considered not the infirmities of younger men: which increased the passion he was in, and provoked him to say, "that it "was observed abroad, that it was a faculty very "much improved of late in the court, to laugh at "those arguments they could not answer, and "which would always be requited with the same "mirth amongst those who were enemies to it, and "therefore it was pity that it should be so much "embraced by those who pretended to be friends;" and to use some other, too plain, expressions, which it may be were not warily enough used, and which the good lord forgot not to put the king in mind of, and to descant upon the presumption, in a season that was more ripe for such reflections, which at the present he forbore to do, and for some time after remembered only in merry occasions.

Arlington puts it off with raillery.

Though the king did not yet, nor in a good time after, appear to dislike the liberty the chancellor presumed to take with him, (who often told him; "that he knew he made himself grievous to him, "and gave his enemies too great advantages against "him; but that the conscience of having done his "duty, and having never failed to inform his ma-"jesty of any thing that was fit for him to know

" and to believe, was the only support he had to 1666.
" bear the present trouble of his mind, and to pre-
" pare him for those distresses which he foresaw he
" was to undergo:" which his majesty heard with great goodness and condescension, and vouchsafed still to tell him, "that it was in nobody's power to " divert his kindness from him:") yet he found every day that some arguments grew less acceptable to him, and that the constant conversation with men of great profaneness, whose wit consisted in abusing scripture, and in repeating and acting what the preachers said in their sermons, and turning it into ridicule, (a faculty in which the duke of Buckingham excelled,) did much lessen the natural esteem and reverence he had for the clergy; and inclined him to consider them[i] as a rank of men that compounded a religion for their own advantage, and to serve their own turns. Nor was all he could say to him of weight enough to make impression to the contrary.

The king complains to the chancellor of the liberties taken with his character.

And then he seemed to think, "that men were " bolder in the examining his actions and censuring " them than they ought to be;" and once he told him, "that he thought he was more[k] severe against " common infirmities than he should be; and that " his wife was not courteous in returning visits and " civilities to those who paid her respect; and that " he expected that all his friends should be very " kind to those who they knew were much loved by " him, and that he thought so much justice was due " to him."

The chancellor, who had never dissembled with

[i] and inclined him to consider them] *Not in MS.*

[k] more] too

1666. him, but on the contrary had always endeavoured to persuade him to believe, that dissimulation was the most dishonest and ungentlemanly quality that could be affected, answered him very roundly, "that "he might seem not to understand his meaning, "and so make no reply to the discourse he had "made: but that he understood it all, and the "meaning of every word of it; and therefore that "it would not become him to suffer his majesty to "depart with an opinion, that what he had said "would produce any alteration in his behaviour to- "wards him, or reformation of his manners towards "any other persons.

The chancellor seriously remonstrates with him.

"That for the first part, the liberty men took to "speak of him and to censure his actions, he was of "the opinion that it was a very great presumption, "and a crime very fit to be punished: for let it be "true or false, men had been always severely chas- "tised for that license, because it tended to sedition. "However, he put his majesty in mind of the ex- "ample of Philip of Macedon, who, when one of his "servants accused a person of condition to him of "having spoken ill of him, and offered to go him- "self to the magistrate and make proof of it, an- "swered him; that the person he accused was a "man of the greatest reputation of wisdom and in- "tegrity in the kingdom, and therefore it would be "fit in the first place to examine, whether himself, "the king, had not done somewhat by which he "had deserved to be so spoken of: indeed this way "the best men would often receive benefit from "their worst enemies. For the matter itself," he said, "he need make no apology: for that it was "notoriously known, that he had constantly given

" it in charge to all the judges, to make diligent in- 1666.
" quiry into misdemeanours and transgressions of
" that magnitude, and to punish those who were
" guilty in the most exemplary manner; and that
" he took not more pains any way, than to preserve
" in the hearts of the people that veneration for his
" person that is due to his dignity, and to persuade
" many who appeared afflicted with the reports they
" heard, that they heard more than was true; and
" that the suppressing all reports of that kind was
" the duty of every good subject, and would contri-
" bute more towards the reforming any thing that
" in truth is amiss, than the propagating the scandal
" by spreading it in discourses could do. However,
" that all this, which was his duty, and but his duty,
" did not make it unfit for him, or any other under
" his obligations, in fit seasons to make a lively re-
" presentation to his majesty of what is done, and
" how secretly soever, that cannot be justified or ex-
" cused; and of the untruths and scandals which
" spring from thence to his irreparable dishonour
" and prejudice.

" For the other part, of want of ceremony and
" respect to those who were loved and esteemed by
" his majesty, he might likewise avoid enlarging
" upon that subject, by putting his majesty in mind,
" that he had the honour to serve him in a province
" that excused him from making visits, and exempt-
" ed him from all ceremonies of that kind. But he
" would not shelter himself under such a general de-
" fence, when he perceived that his majesty had in
" the reprehension a particular intention: and there-
" fore he confessed ingenuously to his majesty, that
" he did deny himself many liberties, which in

1666. " themselves might be innocent enough and agree-
" able to his person, because they would not be de-
" cent or agreeable to the office he held, which
" obliged him, for his majesty's honour, and to pre-
" serve him from the reproach of having put a light
" person into a grave place, to have the more care
" of his own carriage and behaviour. And that, as
" it would reflect upon his majesty himself, if his
" chancellor was known or thought to be of disso-
" lute and debauched manners, which would make
" him as uncapable as unworthy to do him service;
" so it would be a blemish and taint upon him to
" give any countenance, or to pay more than or-
" dinary, cursory, and unavoidable civilities, to per-
" sons infamous for any vice, for which by the laws
" of God and man they ought to be odious, and to
" be exposed to the judgment of the church and
" state. And that he would not for his own sake
" and for his own dignity, to how low a condition
" soever he might be reduced, stoop to such a con-
" descension as to have the least commerce, or to
" make the application of a visit, to any such person,
" for any benefit or advantage that it might bring
" to him. He did beseech his majesty not to be-
" lieve, that he hath a prerogative to declare vice
" virtue; or to qualify any person who lives in a sin
" and avows it, against which God himself hath pro-
" nounced damnation, for the company and conver-
" sation of innocent and worthy persons. And that
" whatever low obedience, which was in truth gross
" flattery, some people might pay to what they be-
" lieved would be grateful to his majesty, they had
" in their hearts a perfect detestation of the persons
" they made address to: and that for his part he

" was long resolved that his wife should not be one 1666.
" of those courtiers; and that he would himself
" much less like her company, if she put herself
" into theirs who had not the same innocence."

The king was not the more pleased for the defence he made, and did not dissemble his dislike of it, without any other sharpness, than by telling him " that he was in the wrong, and had an understand-" ing different from all other men who had ex-" perience in the world." And it is most certain, it was an avowed doctrine, and with great address daily insinuated to the king, " that princes had " many liberties which private persons have not; " and that a lady of honour who dedicates herself " only to please a king, and continues faithful to " him, ought not to be branded with any name or " mark of infamy, but hath been always looked " upon by all persons well-bred as worthy of re-" spect:" and to this purpose the history of all the amours of his grandfather were carefully presented to him, and with what indignation he suffered any disrespect towards any of his mistresses.

But of all these artifices the chancellor had no apprehension, out of the confidence he had in the integrity of the king's nature; and that though he might be swayed to sacrifice his present affections to his appetite, he could never be prevailed upon to entertain a real suspicion of his very passionate affection and duty to his person. That which gave him most trouble, and many times made him wish himself in any private condition separated from the court, was that unfixedness and irresolution of judgment that was natural to all his family of the male line, which often exposed them

1666. all to the importunities of bold, and to the snares of crafty, men.

One day the king and the duke came to the chancellor together; and the king told him with a very visible trouble in his countenance, "that they were "come to confer and advise with him upon an affair "of importance, which exceedingly disquieted them "both. That Dick Talbot" (which was the familiar appellation, according to the ill custom of the court, that most men gave him) "had a resolution "to assassinate the duke of Ormond. That he had "sworn in the presence of two or three persons "of honour, that he would do it in the revenge of "some injuries which, he pretended, he had done "his family: that he had much rather fight with "him, which he knew the duke would be willing "enough to do; but that he should never be able "to bring to pass; and therefore he would take his "revenge in any way that should offer itself. And "every body knew that the man had courage and "wickedness enough to attempt any thing like it. "That the duke of Ormond knew well enough that "the fellow threatened it, and was like enough to "act it; but that he thought it below him to appre-"hend it; and that his majesty came to the notice "of it by the earl of Clancarty, to whom sir Robert "Talbot, the elder brother of the other, told it, to "the end that the earl might give the duke notice "of it, and find some way to prevent it; and the "earl had that day informed the king of it, as the "best way he could think of to prevent it." His majesty said, "there remained no doubt to be made of "the truth of it; for there were two or three more "of unquestionable credit who had heard him use

One Talbot, an Irishman, designs to assassinate the duke of Ormond.

" the same expressions: and that he had first spoken 1666.
" with his brother, whose servant he was, whom he
" found equally incensed as himself; and that they
" came immediately together to consult with him
" what was to be done."

An account of this man's family: with the characters of the five brothers.

The chancellor knew all the brothers well, and was believed to have too much prejudice to them all. They were all of an Irish family, but of ancient English extraction, which had always inhabited within that circle that was called the Pale; which, being originally an English plantation, was in so many hundred years for the most part degenerated into the manners of the Irish, and rose and mingled with them in the late rebellion: and of this family there were two distinct families, who had competent estates, and lived in many descents in the rank of gentlemen of quality; and those brothers were all the sons, or the grandsons, of one who was a judge in Ireland, and esteemed a learned man.

Sir Robert Talbot, the eldest.

The eldest was sir Robert Talbot, who was by much the best; that is, the rest were much worse men: a man, whom the duke of Ormond most esteemed of those who had been in rebellion, as one who had less malice than most of the rest, and had recommended to the king as a person fit for his favour. But because he did not ask all on his behalf, which he must have done for a man entirely innocent, this refusal was looked upon as the highest disobligation.

Peter, the second, a Jesuit.

The second brother was a Jesuit, who had been very troublesome to the king abroad, and had behaved himself in so insolent a manner, that his majesty had forbidden him his court; after which he went into England, and applied himself to the ruling power there, and was by that sent into Spain, at

1666. the time when the treaty was at Fuentarabia between the two crowns, to procure that England might be included in that peace, and the king excluded, and not to be suffered to remain in Flanders. Of all which his majesty having advertisement, sent positive orders to sir Harry Bennet his resident then in Madrid to complain of him, and to desire don Lewis de Haro, that he might receive no countenance in that court. But the Jesuit had better and more powerful recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very strange, considering his talent of understanding) in a short time got so much interest in the resident, that he received him into all kind of familiarity and trust, and undertook to reconcile the king to him, and was as good as his word: and from the time of his majesty's return, or rather from the return of sir Harry Bennet, he was as much and as busy in the court as if he were a domestic servant. And after the queen came to Whitehall, he was admitted one of her almoners; and walked with the same or more freedom in the king's house (and in clergy habit) than any of his majesty's chaplains did; who did not presume to be seen in the galleries and other reserved rooms, where he was conversant with the same confidence as if he were of the bedchamber.

Gilbert, the third, called Colonel Talbot.

The third brother was Gilbert, who was called[1] Colonel Talbot from some command he had with the rebels against the king. And he had likewise been with the king in Flanders, that is, had lived in Antwerp and Brussels whilst the king was there; and being a half-witted fellow did not meddle with

[1] called] *Not in MS.*

any thing nor angered any body, but found a way to get good clothes and to play, and was looked upon as a man of courage, having fought a duel or two with stout men. 1666.

The fourth brother was a Franciscan friar, of wit enough, but of so notorious debauchery, that he was frequently under severe discipline by the superiors of his order for his scandalous life, which made him hate his habit, and take all opportunities to make journeys into England and Ireland: but not being able to live there, he was forced to return and put on his abhorred habit, which he always called his "fool's coat," and came seldom into those places where he was known, and so wandered into Germany and Flanders, and took all opportunities to be in the places where the king was; and so he came to Cologne and Brussels and Bruges, and being a merry fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his brother the Jesuit, who had not so good natural parts, though by his education he had more sobriety, and lived without scandal in his manners. He went by the name of Tom Talbot, and after the king's return was in London in his man's clothes, (as he called them,) with the natural license of an Irish friar, (which are a people, for the most part, of the whole creation the most sottish and the most brutal,) and against his obedience, and all orders of his superiors, who interdicted him to say mass. Thomas, the fourth, a Franciscan friar.

The fifth brother was this Dick Talbot, who gave the king and the duke the trouble mentioned before. He was brought into Flanders first by Daniel O'Neile, as one who was willing to assassinate Cromwell; and he made a journey into England Richard, the fifth, the person concerned.

1666. with that resolution not long before his death, and after it returned into Flanders ready to do all that he should be required. He was a very handsome young man, wore good clothes, and was[m] without doubt of a clear, ready courage, which was virtue enough to recommend a man to the duke's good opinion; which, with more expedition than could be expected, he got to that degree, that he was made of his bedchamber; and, from that qualification, embarked himself after the king's return in the pretences of the Irish, with such an unusual confidence, and upon private contracts with very scandalous circumstances, that the chancellor had sometimes at the council-table been obliged to give him severe reprehensions, and often desired the duke to withdraw his countenance from him. He had likewise declared very loudly against the Jesuit, and, though he had made many addresses unto him by letters and by some friends who had credit with him, would never, from the time of the king's return, be persuaded to speak with him, and had once prevailed with the king so far, that he was forbid to come to the court; but he had a friend, who after some time got that restraint off again. The chancellor had likewise observed the friar to be too frequently in the galleries, and sometimes drunk there, and caused him to be forbid to come into the court: and the eldest brother, towards whom he had rather kindness than prejudice, finding many obstructions in his pretences, was persuaded to think him not his friend. And so he got the reproach of being an enemy to the whole family.

[m] was] *Not in MS.*

This consideration did really affect the chancellor, 1666.
so that he appeared more reserved and more wary in this particular proposed by the king and by the duke, than he used to be. He said, "that in many "respects he was not so fit to advise in this parti- "cular as other men were. Though this man's be- "haviour was so scandalous that it deserved exem- "plary punishment, yet he did not conceive any pre- "sent danger from it: that he would deny it and "repent it, and give any other satisfaction that "would be required or assigned; and then his ma- "jesty and the duke would be prevailed with to "take off their displeasure. And therefore it would "be better [n] not to make such a matter public, "which, considering the person and the circum- "stances, would make a deep impression upon the "minds of all wise men; than, after the world takes "notice of it, to pass it over with a light and ordi- "nary punishment." The king interrupted him as he was going on, and told him, "there was no dan- "ger of that, and that he would deal freely with "him. That as the offence was in itself unpar- "donable, so he and his brother were resolved to take "this opportunity and occasion to free themselves "from the importunity of the whole family: that "all the brothers were naughty fellows, and had no "good meaning." And thereupon his majesty en- larged with much sharpness upon the Jesuit and friar, with charges upon both very weighty and un- answerable; and the duke upon this man who was the subject of the debate: and both concluded, "that they should be in great ease by the absence

[n] it would be better] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. "of all of them, which should be enjoined as soon "as a resolution should be taken in this particular."

The chancellor knew that there was somewhat else, which was not so fit to be mentioned, that had offended them both as much; and thought he had reason to believe that they would be both resolute in the punishment, and that they had deliberated it too long to depart from the prosecution. He therefore advised, "that the gentleman should be pre- "sently apprehended and examined upon the words, "which some witness should be ready to affirm: "and that thereupon he should be sent to the Tower, "and the next day that his majesty should inform "the privy-council of the whole, which without "question would give direction to his attorney ge- "neral to prosecute this foul misdemeanour in such "a manner, that should put this gentleman in such "a condition, that he should not trouble the court "with his attendance; and other men should by "his example find, that their tongues are not their "own, to be employed according to their own mali- "cious pleasures."

He is sent to the Tower by the chancellor's advice.

The person was the same night sent to the Tower; and both the king and the duke declared themselves, in the presence of their servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as positively resolved to take as much vengeance upon the impudent presumption of the offender as the rigour of the law would inflict, as ever[o] they had done upon any occurrence and accident in their lives: and if they had had persons enough about them, who out of a just sense of their honour would have confirmed

[o] ever] if

them in the judgment they were of, it would have been in nobody's power to have shaken them. But as from the first day of his commitment, the servants near the person both of the king and duke presumed, against all ancient order, (which made it a crime in any to perform those civilities to persons declared to be under his majesty's displeasure,) to visit Mr. Talbot, and to censure those who had advised his commitment; so[p] after some few days, when they thought the duke's passion in some degree abated, the lord Berkley confidently told the duke, "that he suffered much in the opinion of the "world, in permitting a servant of so near relation[q] "to be committed to prison for a few hasty and "unadvised words to which he had been provoked; "and that it was well enough known that it was "by the contrivement and advice of the chancellor, "who was taken notice of to be an enemy to that "whole family, nor any great friend to any of his "highness's servants; and if he had that credit to "remove any of them from his person, there would "in a short time be few of them found in his "court." 1666.

This was seconded by all the standers by; and though it did not suddenly work its effect, yet the continual pressing it by degrees weakened the resolution: and the same offices being with equal importunity performed towards the king, and with the more zeal after it was published that the whole was done by the chancellor's procurement; both his majesty and his highness grew weary of their severity, and, upon conference together, resolved to interpose

[p] so] and [q] relation] relation to his person

1666. with the duke for his remission, who disdained to make himself a prosecutor in such a transgression.

But soon released by the artifice of the chancellor's enemies.

And so the prisoner returned to Whitehall, with the advantage which men who have been unjustly imprisoned usually receive: and all men thought he triumphed over the chancellor, who, how unconcerned soever, knew every day the less how to behave himself. And this unhappy constitution grew so notorious, (for there were too many instances of it,) that all men grew less resolute in matters which concerned the king and drew the displeasure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

The parliament meets.

According to their last prorogation the parliament convened again upon the one and twentieth of September; when the king told them, "that he was "very glad to meet so many of them together again, "and thanked God for their meeting together again "in that place." He said, "little time had passed "since they were almost in despair of having that "place left to meet in. They saw the dismal ruins "the fire had made; and nothing but a miracle of "God's mercy could have preserved what was left "from the same destruction."

The king's speech.

His majesty told them, "he need make no excuse to them for having dispensed with their attendance in April; he was confident they all "thanked him for it: the truth is, he desired to "put them to as little trouble as he could; and he "could tell them truly, he desired to put them to "as little cost as was possible. He wished with all "his heart that he could bear the whole charge of "the war himself, and that his subjects should reap "the whole benefit of it to themselves. But he had

" two great and powerful enemies, who used all the 1666.
" ways they could, fair and foul, to make all the
" world to concur with them; and the war was
" more chargeable by that conjunction, than any
" body thought it would have been. He needed
" not tell them the success of the summer, in which
" God had given them great success; and no ques-
" tion the enemy had undergone great losses; and
" if it had pleased God to have withheld his late
" judgment by fire, he had been in no ill condition."
His majesty confessed, " that they had given him
" very large supplies for the carrying on the war:
" and yet," he told them, " that if he had not, by
" anticipating his own revenue, raised a very great
" sum of money, he had not been able to have set out
" the fleet the last spring; and he had some hope
" upon the same credit to be able to pay off the great
" ships as they should come in. They would con-
" sider what was to be done next, when they were
" well informed of the expense: and he would leave
" it to their wisdoms, to find out the best expedients
" for the carrying on the war with as little burden
" to the people as was possible." He said, " he
" would add no more than to put them in mind,
" that their enemies were very insolent; and if
" they were able the last year to persuade their mi-
" serable people whom they misled, that the con-
" tagion had so wasted the nation, and impoverished
" the king, that he would not be able to set out
" any fleet; how would they be exalted with this
" last impoverishment of the city, and contemn all
" reasonable conditions of peace? And therefore
" he could not doubt but that they would provide
" accordingly."

1666. Indeed the king did not till now understand the damage he had sustained by the plague, much less what he must sustain by[r] the fire. Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the plague had prevailed, which was over all the city and over a great part of the country; the collectors durst not go to require it or receive it. Yet the fountains remained yet clear, and the waters would run again: but this late conflagration had dried up or so stopped the very fountains, that there was no prospect when they would flow again. The two great branches of the revenue, the customs and excise, which was the great and almost inexhaustible security to borrow money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in money nor supply credit: all the measures by which computations had been made were so broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a medium of the constant receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that fund would by this time have been fully satisfied with all the interest, whereby the money would have been replaced in the hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the security would have[s] remained still in vigour to be applied to any other urgent occasions: but now the plague had routed all those receipts, especially in London, where the great conduits of those receipts still ran. The plague and the war had so totally broken and distracted those receipts, that the farmers of either had not received enough to discharge the constant burden of the officers, and were so far from paying any part of the principal that was secured upon it, that it left the interest unpaid

[r] by] from [s] would have] *Not in MS.*

to swell the principal. And now this deluge by fire had dissipated the persons, and destroyed the houses, which were liable to the reimbursement of all arrears; and the very stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the trade. And the third next considerable branch of the revenue, the chimney-money, was determined; and the city must be rebuilt before any body could be required to pay for his chimneys. 1666.

This was the true state of the crown, if all other inconveniences and casual expenses had been away, and all application to things serious had been made by all persons concerned. And this woful prospect was in view when the parliament met again; which came not together with the better countenance by seeing all hopes abroad with so sad an aspect, and all things at home (that troubled them much more) appear so desperate in many respects. Yet within few days after the king had spoken to them, the house of commons being most filled with the king's servants, the gentlemen of the country being not yet come, there was a faint vote procured, "that "they would give a supply to the king proportion- "able to his wants;" without mentioning any sum, or which way it should be raised: nor from that minute did they make the least reflection upon that engagement in many months after. Whilst the enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as they had good cause, that they should reap a much greater benefit by the burning of London than they had from the contagion.

When the numbers of the members increased, the parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though they made the same

Discontents in the house of commons.

1666. professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there: and the very idle discourses of some (who were much countenanced) upon the miserable event of the fire made them even believe, that the former jealousies of the city, when they saw their houses burning at such a distance from each other, were not without some foundation, nor without just apprehension of a conspiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore they appointed a committee, with large authority to send for and examine all persons who could give any information concerning it.

A committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the fire.

When any mention was made of the declaration they had so lately passed, for giving the king supply, and "that it was high time to despatch it, that "all necessary provisions might be made for the "setting out a fleet against the spring;" it was answered with passion, "that the king's wants must "be made first to appear before any supply must be "discoursed of: that there were already such vast "sums of money given to the king, that there was "none left in the country; nor could any commo-"dities there, upon which they should raise where-"with to pay their taxes, be sold for want of mo-"ney, which was all brought to London in specie, "and none left to carry on the commerce and trade "in the country, where they could not sell their corn "or their cattle or their wool for half the value."

They who had not sat in the parliament at Oxford were exceedingly vexed, that there had been so much given there, so soon after the two millions and a half had been granted; and said, "if the king

"wanted again already, that he must have been 1666.
"abominably cheated, which was fit to be examined.
"That the number of the ships, which had been set
"out by the king in several fleets since the begin-
"ning of this war, was no secret; and that there
"are men enough who are acquainted with the
"charge of setting out and manning and victual-
"ling ships, and can make thereby a reasonable com-
"putation what this vast expense can amount to:
"and that they cannot but conclude, that if his ma-
"jesty hath been honestly dealt with, there must
"remain still a very great proportion of money to
"carry on the war, without need of imposing more
"upon the people, till they are better able to bear it.
"And therefore that it was absolutely necessary, that
"all those, through whose hands the money had
"passed, should first give an exact account of what
"they had received, and what and how they had
"disbursed it: and when that should appear, it
"would be seasonable to demand an addition of
"supply, which would be cheerfully granted."

And for the better expedition of this (for every body confessed that the time pressed) it was proposed, "that forthwith a bill should be prepared, which "should pass into an act of parliament, in which "such commissioners should be appointed as the "houses should think fit, to examine all accounts of "those who had received or issued out any monies "for this war; and where they found any persons "faulty, and who had broken their trust, they "should be liable to such punishment as the parlia-"ment should think fit:" and a committee was presently named to prepare such a bill accordingly. This proposition found such a concurrence in the

A bill brought in for inspecting public accounts.

1666. house, that none of the court thought fit to oppose it; and others who knew the method to be new, and liable to just exceptions, thought it to as little purpose to endeavour to divert it: and so all motions for present supply were to be laid aside till a more favourable conjuncture; and the overture had been contrived and put on by many who seemed not to like it, which is an artifice not unusual in courts or parliaments.

The persons, who were principally aimed at, (for no doubt they believed that others would be comprehended,) were sir George Carteret, the treasurer of the navy, through whom all that expense had passed, who had many enemies upon the opinion that his office was too great, and the more by the ill offices sir William Coventry was always ready to do him; and the lord Ashley, who was treasurer of all the money that had been raised upon prizes, which could not but be a great proportion. The former was a punctual officer and a good accountant, and had already passed his account in the exchequer for two years, upon which he had his "quietus est;" which was the only lawful way known and practised by all accountants to the crown, who can receive a good discharge no other way: and he was ready to make another year's account. But what method commissioners extraordinary by act of parliament would put it into, he could not imagine, nor be well satisfied with. The other, the lord Ashley, had more reason to be troubled, for he was by his commission exempted from giving any other account but to the king himself, which exemption was the only reason that made him so solicitous for the office; and he well knew that there were great sums issued, which

could not be put into any public account: so that his perplexity in several respects was not small. And they both applied themselves to the king for his protection in the point. 1666.

His majesty was no less troubled, knowing[t] that both had issued out many sums upon his warrants, which he would not suffer to be produced; and called that committee of the privy-council with which he used to advise, and complained of this unusual way of proceeding in the house of commons, which would terrify all men from serving his majesty in any receipts; to which employment men submitted because they knew what they were to do, and what they were to suffer. If they made their account according to the known rules of the exchequer, their discharge could not be denied; and if they failed, they knew what process would be awarded against them. But to account by such orders as the parliament should prescribe, and to be liable to such punishment as the parliament would inflict, was such an uncertainty as would deprive them of all rest and quiet of mind; and was in itself so unjust, that his majesty declared "that he would never "suffer it: that he hoped it would never find a con- "sent in the house of commons; if it should, that "the house of peers would reject it; but if it should "be brought to him, he was resolved never to give "his royal assent." There was no man present, who did not seem fully to concur with his majesty that he should never consent to it: "however, that "the best care and diligence should be used, that it "might never be presented to him, but stopped in

Upon which the king consults the private committee.

[t] knowing] knew

1666. "the houses; and to that purpose, that the mem-
"bers should be prepared by giving them notice of
"his pleasure."

The chancellor delivers his opinion very freely:

The chancellor upon this argument, in which he discerned no opposition, enlarged himself upon what he had often before put his majesty in mind of; "that he could not be too indulgent in the defence "of the privileges of parliament; that he hoped he "would never violate any of them:" but he desired him "to be equally solicitous to prevent the ex-"cesses in parliament, and not to suffer them to "extend their jurisdiction to cases they have no-"thing to do with; and that to restrain them within "their proper bounds and limits is as necessary, as "it is to preserve them from being invaded. That "this was such a new encroachment as had no bot-"tom; and the scars were yet too fresh and green "of those wounds which had been inflicted upon "the kingdom from such usurpation." And therefore he desired his majesty "to be firm in the reso-"lution he had taken, and not to depart from it; "and if such a bill should be brought up to the "house of peers, he would not fail in doing his duty, "and speaking freely his opinion against such inno-"vations, how many soever it might offend." All which discourse of his was in a short time after communicated to those, who would not fail to make use of it to his disadvantage.

Which is soon reported abroad to his prejudice.

There was a correspondence by this time begun and warmly pursued between some discontented members of the house of peers, who thought their parts not enough valued, (and the duke of Buckingham was in the head of them,) and some members of the house of commons, who made themselves

remarkable by opposing all things which were proposed in that house for the king's service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as sir Richard Temple, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Garraway, and sir Robert Howard; who were all bold speakers, and meant to make themselves considerable by saying, upon all occasions, what wiser men would not[u], whatever they thought. 1666.

The duke of Buckingham[x] took more pains than was agreeable to his constitution to get an interest in all such persons, invited them to his table, pretended to have a great esteem of their parts, asked counsel of them, lamented the king's neglecting his business, and committing it to other people who were not fit for it; and then reported all the license and debauchery of the court in the most lively colours[y], being himself a frequent eye and earwitness of it. He had a mortal quarrel with the lady, and was at this time so much in the king's displeasure, (as he was very frequently,) that he forbore going to the court, and revenged himself upon it by all the merry tales he could tell of what was done there. The duke of Buckingham at the head of the opposition.

It cannot be imagined, considering the loose life he led (which was a life more by night than by day) in all the liberties that nature could desire or wit invent, how great an interest he had in both houses of parliament; that is, how many in both would follow his advice, and concur in what he proposed. His quality and condescensions, the pleasantness of his humour and conversation, the extravagance and sharpness of his wit, unrestrained by any modesty

[u] not] *Omitted in MS.*
[x] of Buckingham] *Not in MS.*
[y] colours] courage

1666. or religion, drew persons of all affections and inclinations to like his company; and to believe that the levities and the vanities would be wrought off by age, and there would enough of good be left to become a great man, and make him useful to his country, for which he pretended to have a wonderful affection and reverence; and that all his displeasure against the court proceeded from their declared malignity against the liberty of the subject, and their desire that the king should govern by the example of France. He had always held intelligence with the principal persons of the levelling party, and professed to desire that liberty of conscience might be granted to all; and exercised his wit with most license against the church, the law, and the court.

The king had constant intelligence of all his behaviour, and the liberty he took in his discourses of him, for which he had indignation enough: but of this new stratagem to make himself great in parliament, and to have a faction there to disturb his business, his majesty had no apprehension, believing it impossible for the duke to keep his mind long bent upon any particular design, or to keep and observe those hours and orders of sleeping and eating, as men who pretend to business are obliged to; and that it was more impossible, for him to make and preserve a friendship with any serious persons, whom he could never restrain himself from abusing and making ridiculous, as soon as he was out of their company. Yet, with all these infirmities and vices, he found a respect and concurrence from men of different tempers and talents, and had an incredible opinion with the people.

The great object of his dislike, displeasure, and

hatred, was the duke of Ormond, who being his equal in title, and superior in credit with the king, and at least equal to him in all other respects, he looked upon him as his rival; and that his constant attendance upon the king through all his fortunes, was a reproach to him for not having performed his duty that way, and gave him a general reputation in the kingdom with all men who had been faithful to the crown. The duke of Ormond's younger son had married his niece, who was the heir apparent of his house; to which, though he had given his consent when he saw it was not in his power to contradict it, yet he pretended that the duke had made many promises of friendship to him which he had not made good; whereas in truth the other did really desire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good offices he could with the king, which some other new extravagance of his own disappointed and made uneffectual. Let the ground and reason be what they will, he did not dissemble to hate the duke of Ormond heartily, and to be willing to undertake the prosecution of any complaint against him; of which, in that distempered and disjointed condition of Ireland, there could not be occasion wanting[z], as soon as it was known that such a patron was ready to undertake their defence. And it cannot be denied, (the spirit of envy is so powerful,) that there were too many, who had no affection for the duke of Buckingham, who were yet willing that any thing should be done to the prejudice of the duke of Ormond, who they thought eclipsed the nobility of England.

1666. His hatred to the duke of Ormond.

[z] there could not be occasion wanting] could not be wanting

1666. There had been for many months a great murmur, rather than complaint, "of the great damage "the kingdom in general sustained by the importa- "tion of such great quantities of Irish cattle, which "were bred there for nothing, and transported for "little, that they might well undersell all the cat- "tle here; and from hence the breed of cattle in "the kingdom was totally given over, and thereby "the land would yield no rent proportionably to "what it had ever done: and that this was a prin- "cipal cause of the want of money in the country, "which could only be remedied by a very strict act "of parliament, to forbid the importation of any "sort of cattle out of Ireland into this kingdom."

A bill brought into the house of commons against the importation of Irish cattle.

And some of them who had most thought of the matter had prepared a bill, and brought it into the house of commons, where it was read. At first it underwent very calm and reasonable debates. Very many members of several counties desired, "that "their counties might not undergo any damage for "the benefit of other individual places." They professed "that their counties had no land bad enough "to breed: but that their great traffick consisted in "buying lean cattle, and making them fat, and "upon this they paid their rent; and if the bringing "over Irish cattle should be restrained, their coun- "ties must be undone." And this appeared to be the case of very many counties in England. And the complaint was of so new a nature, that it had never been heard of in England till some few months before this meeting in parliament; only it had been mentioned in the parliament at Oxford, as a grievance to the northern counties, which complained no less of the Scots than of the Irish cattle;

and the bill that was at this time brought into the house of commons provided as well against the one as the other. 1666.

Whether this complaint originally proceeded from the damage which the people of some counties sustained, or thought they sustained, which made their members in parliament press the restraint with much earnestness, (and it cannot be denied that many worthy men were passionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious contests, to comply with the humours of other men,) is not easy to other men to judge of than those who sat in the houses, and observed the manner and the passion in which those debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently soever the grievance first came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the consideration and wisdom of the house, the carrying it on was with unusual heat and passion, different from what appeared in the transaction of any other business, that had an aspect only to the public: and it was observed, that the cabal that is mentioned before, between some of the house of peers and of the house of commons, began at this time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this affair; which suddenly grew to be insisted on as of that importance, that there could be no debate begun with reference to the giving money to the king, till this bill were first passed.

The privy-council of Ireland remonstrate against this bill.

In the mean time the council of Ireland had the alarm of what was intended before the parliament, and did not only write to the king himself, but a large letter to the lords of the privy-council, in which they represented the present distracted con-

1666. dition of that kingdom, "that there were more than "one hundred thousand persons who had nothing else "to live upon but their droves of cattle; out of "which they twice a year sent as many as they "could spare into England, which enabled them to "pay their rents, and return such goods and mer- "chandise from thence as the kingdom stood[a] in "need of;" for no money in specie was returned upon that commerce. "That if this liberty of "trade, which they had enjoyed in all ages, should "be taken from them, the king's army could not be "supported, nor the government maintained, but "the kingdom must necessarily be ruined; and pro- "bably a new rebellion, in so general a discontent "as this restraint would administer, might be again "entered into: and therefore they desired, that at "least some years might be allowed to that traffick "which had been always enjoyed; to the end that "some other husbandry might be introduced into "the kingdom, by which the people might live, "and which the government would endeavour to "plant with all possible diligence and encourage- "ment."

The king against the bill.

The king himself was so much moved with those letters, that he declared, "that he could neither in "justice nor in conscience consent to such a bill, "which upon pretence of benefit to one of his king- "doms might and must be so mischievous to the "other two," (for Scotland, as is said, was yet com- prehended as well as Ireland:) "that he was equally "king to[b] all, and obliged to have an equal care of "all; and never to consent to any thing that might

[a] stood] *Omitted in MS.* [b] to] of

" be prejudicial to either of the other, especially if 1666.
" the benefit to the one were not proportionable to,
" and as evident as, the damage was to the other."
And upon these grounds he recommended to them,
" to give such a stop to this bill, that it might never
" be presented to him; for if it were, he must posi-
" tively reject it:" and without doubt his majesty at that time did not resolve any thing more within himself, than never to give his royal assent to that bill.

The privy-council divided in their opinions upon it.

The letters from Ireland did not make the same impressions upon the lords of the council, who were very much divided in their opinions, even they whose zeal for the king's service was most unquestionable. Some were, upon the sole consideration of the injustice of it, and the mischief that it would produce in Ireland, positively against ever consenting to it, and as positive that it might be stopped in the house of commons, or thrown out of the lords' house, that it should never come to the king: others did as much believe that it was a real grievance, in which the subject should have relief; and insisted much, " that in a point evidently for the benefit and
" advantage of England, Ireland ought not to be
" put into the scale, because it would be some incon-
" venience there." Some did in truth think that the king was too much inclined to favour the Irish, and in that respect were well content that this bill should be a mortification to them: and there wanted not others, who in dark expressions (which grew clearer when the matter came into the house of peers) seemed to think, " that the estates in Ireland were
" more valuable than they were in England; and that
" some noblemen of that kingdom lived in a higher

1666. "garb, and made greater expenses, than the noble-
"men in England were able to do; which had not
"been in former times." But they never considered, that those noblemen had nothing but what descended to them from their ancestors; and that they had faithfully adhered to the king, and undergone as much damage for doing so, as any men had done.

The house of commons seemed much more morose and obstinate than it had formerly appeared to be, and solicitous to grasp as much power and authority as any of their predecessors had done, though no doubt with no ill intention: and[c] it may be this would not have so much appeared, if there had been the same vigour in those who had used to conduct the king's business in that house, as there had used to be. But that spirit was much fallen. The chief men of the court, upon whose example other men looked, were much more humble than they had used to be, and took more pains to ingratiate themselves than to advance the interest of their master: and instead of pressing what was desirable upon the strength of reason and policy, as they had used to do, and by which the major part of the house had usually concurred with them, they now applied themselves with address to those, who had always frowardly opposed whatsoever they thought would be grateful to the king; and desired rather to buy their votes and concurrence by promises of reward and preferment, (which is the most dishonourable and unthrifty brokery that can be practised in a parliament, which from this time was much practised,

[c] and] nor

and brought many ill things to pass,) than to pre- 1666.
vail upon those weighty and important arguments which would bear the light. Which low artifice raised the insolence of those, which would, as easily as it had been, have been still overruled and suppressed; and was quickly discerned by those others, who, upon the principles of honour and wisdom, had hitherto swayed the house in all matters of public concernment, and who now concluded by those new condescensions that the former sober spirit and resolution was laid aside, and that peevish men would be compounded with; and so resolved to sit still or look on, till the success of this stratagem might be discerned.

And by this means the bill for Irish cattle was driven on with more fury, and the other concerning accounts more passionately spoken of; whilst every day not only many of those, who had constantly observed the advice that had been given them on the behalf of the king, fell off to the other party, but many of his household servants concurred in the bill for Ireland; whilst the rest, who did not yet think fit to do so, applied themselves to the king for his leave that they might do the same. And sir William Coventry, who had now by his insinuations and communication made himself very grateful to the refractory party, persuaded the king, "that the house "had taken the Irish bill so much to heart, that "they would never enter upon the debate of money, "till that had passed the house and was sent to the "lords, who no doubt, upon the knowledge of his "majesty's mind and resolution, would easily throw "it out. That if his servants continued obstinate in "opposing it below, they should but provoke and

1666. "anger the house, and render themselves useless to "other parts of his majesty's more important busi- "ness: whereas if they did now gratify the house by "concurring with them in this matter, they should "make themselves acceptable, have credit enough to "divert the bill of accounts, and presently to dispose "every body to enter upon the matter of supply."

The king was not pleased with the counsel, but had a very good opinion of the counsellor, who he believed could not but judge aright of the temper of those with whom he had sat and conversed so long: and so his majesty told him, "he was con- "tented he should follow the dictates of his own "judgment and conscience;" and the same answer he gave to all such members of the house of commons who came to receive his orders. And after all this, the bill was carried with great difficulty, and long opposition given to it by those members of several counties, which professed, "that the bringing over "the Irish cattle was so much for their benefit, that "they could not live well without it," and were exceedingly perplexed that it should pass; which yet they hoped would be prevented in the house of peers: and so the bill was in great triumph, and by all the members, (as in cases they much delight in is usual,) presented to the house of peers.

The bill, after great opposition, passed by the commons.

And the commons no sooner repaired to their own house, than they assumed the debate upon the accounts, with the same fervour they had pursued the other bill of Ireland, and with the same declaration, "that they would not enter upon the subject of "money, till they saw what success that bill would "likewise have;" and appearing every day more out of humour, expressed less reverence towards the

court. And some expressions were frequently used, which seemed to glance at the license and disorders and extravagant expense of that place, not without some reflections which aimed at the lady, and at the exorbitant power exercised by her. And this imperious way of proceeding confirmed those in their wariness, who had no mind to oppose or contradict the party that they would and meant should prevail: but they the more endeavoured to render themselves gracious to the leaders, as being willing to administer fuel to the fire the others intended to kindle; and, so they might preserve themselves, were very willing to expose other ministers to the jealousy of them, who they thought would not be quiet without some sacrifice. And thus they alarmed the king with the new apprehensions, "that the "house, which had yet dutiful intentions, if they "were crossed in what they designed for his service, "might be provoked to be bolder with his majesty "than they had been yet, and to mention the preva-"lence of the lady," which every body knew the duke of Buckingham would have been glad to have contributed to. And with these continued representations, but especially with their old argument of casting it out by the house of peers, where his power could not be doubted, they at last prevailed with the king to leave all men to themselves in the business of the accounts, (where there was a greater concurrence,) as he had done in the Irish bill: and so that bill likewise was transmitted to the lords. 1666.

The bill for inspecting public accounts passed by the commons.

And at this time many wise men thought, that it would have been very happy for the king if he would have dissolved the parliament, and presently after called another; which would have discovered many

The propriety of dissolving the parliament at this time.

1666. combinations, when the actors had found themselves excluded from entering again upon the stage; and it would have appeared, that all the storms had been raised by those winds which had their birth in the king's own house. And such a dissolution (to which the king himself was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the kingdom, which naturally doth not love long parliaments, and exceedingly detested this for having only given away their money, and raised a war of which they saw no end nor possible benefit, without passing any good laws for the advancement of the peace and happiness of the kingdom. And very few of those, who had gotten credit in the house to obstruct what the king desired, were men of any interest or reputation with the people.

But as nobody was forward publicly to own and avow this counsel, the consequence whereof they knew if it were not consented to; so they who meant to do themselves more good by the present indisposition and distemper, than they could propose from a new convention of men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring prejudice against their own particulars, used all the means they could devise to divert the king from that inclination. They told him, "that he would never have such "another parliament, where he had near one hun- "dred members of his own menial servants and their "near relations, who were all at his disposal; by "which they had incurred so much prejudice in the "country, that very few of them would ever be "elected again. That the present distemper was "contracted by accidents and mistakes, and would "vanish upon very reasonable condescensions, and

"in another prorogation: whereas if it should be "dissolved and new writs sent out, the people would "return none but presbyterians and known enemies "to the church, and such who were most notori- "ously disaffected to the court." And this argument, pressed by men who had no more affection for the church than the Quakers had, prevailed with most of the bishops to dissuade the king from hearkening to any such advice; when they had much more reason to expect a stronger party in a new parliament, and might have observed that their friends fell from them every day in both houses, and that the court was not propitious to them, of which they had afterwards a sad experience, and which they might then have well foreseen. 1666.

Great animosities in the house of lords upon the bill against Irish cattle.

The house of peers was no sooner possessed of the bill against Irish cattle, but it was read, and a marvellous keen resolution appeared in many to use all expedition in the passing it; though if the matter itself had been without exception, there were so many clauses and provisos in it so derogatory to the king's honour and prerogative, that many thought it a high disrespect to his majesty to admit them into debate. But of these anon. The duke of Buckingham appeared in the head of those who favoured the bill, with a marvellous concernment: and at the times appointed for the debate of it, contrary to his custom of coming into the house, indeed of not rising till eleven of the clock, and seldom staying above a quarter of an hour, except upon some affair which he concerned himself in, he was now always present with the first in a morning, and stayed till the last at night; for the debate often held from the morn-

1666. ing till four of the clock in the afternoon, and sometimes till candles were brought in.

And it grew quickly evident, that there were other reasons which caused so earnest a prosecution of it, above the encouragement of the breed of cattle in England: insomuch as the lord Ashley, who next the duke of Buckingham appeared the most violent supporter of the bill, could not forbear to urge it as an argument for the prosecuting it, "that if this bill "did not pass, all the rents in Ireland would rise in "a vast proportion, and those in England fall as "much; so that in a year or two the duke of Or- "mond would have a greater revenue than the earl "of Northumberland;" which made a visible impression in many, as a thing not to be endured. Whereas the duke had indeed at least four times the proportion of land in Ireland that descended to him from his ancestors, that the earl had in England; and the revenue of it before the rebellion was not inferior to the other's. But nothing was more manifest, than that the warmth of that prosecution in the house of peers in many lords did proceed from the envy they had of the duke's station in one kingdom, and of his fortune in the other.

And the whole debate upon the bill was so disorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: no rules or orders of the house for the course and method of debate were observed. And there being, amongst those who advanced the bill, fewer speakers than there were of those who were against it, those few took upon them to speak oftener than they ought to do, and to reply to every man who declared himself to be of another opinion:

and when they were put in mind of the rule of the house, "that no man should speak above once upon "the same question," they called presently to have the house resolved into a committee, which any single member may require, and then every man may speak as often as he please; and so the time was spent unprofitably without the business being advanced. In the mean time the house of commons proceeded as irregularly, in sending frequent messages to hasten the despatch of the bill, when they knew well the debate of every day: and it was frequently urged as an argument, "that the house of "commons was the fittest judge of the necessities "and grievances of the people; and they having "passed this bill, the lords ought to conform to their "opinion." In fine, there grew so great a license of words in this debate, and so many personal reflections, that every day some quarrels arose, to the great scandal and dishonour of a court that was the supreme judicatory of the kingdom. 1666.

The duke of Buckingham, who assumed a liberty of speaking when and what he would in a dialect unusual and ungrave, his similes and other expressions giving occasion of much mirth and laughter, one day said in the debate, "that whoever was "against that bill had either an Irish interest or an "Irish understanding:" which so much offended the lord Ossory, who was eldest son to the duke of Ormond, (who had very narrowly escaped the censure of the house lately, for reproaching the lord Ashley with having been a counsellor to Cromwell, and would not therefore trust himself with giving a present answer,) that[d] meeting him afterwards in the

[d] that] but

1666. court, he[e] desired the duke "that he would walk "into the next room with him;" and there told him, "that he had taken the liberty to use many "loose and unworthy expressions which reflected "upon the whole Irish nation, and which he him-"self resented so much that he expected satisfaction, "and to find him with his sword in his hand;" which the duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair words and shifts he could use, but was so far pressed by the other, whose courage was never doubted, that he could not avoid appointing a place where they would presently meet, which he found the other would exact to prevent discovery, and therefore had chosen rather to urge it himself than to send a message to him. And so he named a known place in Chelsea Fields, and to be there within less than an hour.

The lord Ossory challenges the duke of Buckingham.

The lord Ossory made haste thither, and expected him much beyond the time; and then seeing some persons come out of the way towards the place where he was, and concluding[f] they were sent out to prevent any action between them, he avoided speaking with them, but got to the place where his horse was, and so retired to London. The duke was found by himself in another place on the other side of the water, which was never known by the name of Chelsea Fields, which he said was the place he had appointed to meet.

Finding that night that the lord Ossory was not in custody, and so he was sure he should quickly hear from him, and upon conference with his friends, that the mistake of the place would be imputed to

[e] he] *Not in MS.*

[f] and concluding] he concluded

him; he took a strange resolution, that every body wondered at, and his friends dissuaded him from. And the next morning, as soon as the house was sat, the lord Ossory being likewise present that he might find some opportunity to speak with him, the duke told the house, "that he must inform them of some- "what that concerned himself; and being sure that "it would come to their notice some other way, he "had therefore chose to acquaint them with it him- "self;" and thereupon related "how the lord Ossory "had the day before found him in the court, and "desired him to walk into the next room, where "he charged him with many particulars which he "had spoken in that place, and in few words told "him he should fight with him; which though he "did not hold himself obliged to do in maintenance "of any thing he had said or done in the parlia- "ment, yet that it being suitable and agreeable to "his nature, to fight with any man who had a "mind to fight with him," (upon which he enlarged with a little vanity, as if duelling were his daily exercise and inclination,) "he appointed the place in "Chelsea Fields, which he understood to be the "fields over against Chelsea; whither, having only "gone to his lodging to change his sword, he hast- "ened, by presently crossing the water in a pair of "oars, and stayed there in expectation of the lord "Ossory, until such gentlemen," whom he named, "found him there, and said, they were sent to pre- "vent his and the lord Ossory's meeting, whom "others were likewise sent to find for the same pre- "vention. Whereupon, concluding that for the "present there would be no meeting together, he "returned with those gentlemen to his lodging,

1666.

The duke of Buckingham informs the house of the affair.

1666. "being always ready to give any gentleman sa-
"tisfaction that should require it of him."

Every body was exceedingly surprised with the oddness and unseasonableness of the discourse, which consisted, with some confusion, between aggravating the presumption of the lord Ossory, and making the offence as heinous as the violating all the privileges of parliament could amount unto; and magnifying his own courage and readiness to fight upon any opportunity, when it was clear enough that he had declined it by a gross shift: and it was wondered at, that he had not chosen rather that some other person might inform the house of a quarrel between two members, that it might be examined and the mischief prevented. But he believed that way would not so well represent and manifest the lustre of his courage, and might leave him under an examination that would not be so advantageous to him as his own information: and therefore no persuasion and importunity of his friends could prevail with him to decline that method.

The lord Ossory seemed out of countenance, and troubled that the contest was like to be only in that place, and cared not to deny any thing that the duke had accused him of; only "wondered, that he "should say he had challenged him for words "spoken in the house, when he had expressly de-"clared to him, when his grace insisted much upon "the privilege of parliament to decline giving him "any satisfaction, that he did not question him for "any words spoken in parliament, but for words "spoken in other places, and for affronts, which he "had at other times chosen to bear rather than to "disturb the company." He confessed, "he had

" attended in the very place where the duke had 1666.
" done him the honour to promise to meet him;"
and mentioned some expressions which he had used
in designing it, which left the certainty of it not to
be doubted.

When they had both said as much as they had a
mind to, they were both required, as is the custom,
to withdraw to several rooms near the house: and
then the lords entered upon debate of the trans-
gression; many insisting " upon the magnitude of
" the offence, which concerned the honour and safety
" of the highest tribunal in the kingdom, and the
" liberty and security of every member of the house,
" That if in any debate any lord exceeded the modest
" limits prescribed, in any offensive expressions, the
" house had the power and the practice to restrain
" and reprehend and imprison the person, according
" to the quality and degree of the offence; and that
" no other remedy or examination could be applied
" to it, even by the king himself. But if it should
" be in any private man to take exceptions against
" any words which the house finds no fault with, and
" to require men to justify with their swords all
" that they say in discharge of their conscience, and
" for the good and benefit of their country; there is
" an end of the privilege of parliament and the free-
" dom of speech: and therefore that there could not
" be too great a punishment inflicted upon this no-
" torious and monstrous offence of the lord Ossory,
" which concerned every lord in particular, as much
" as it did the duke of Buckingham; who had car-
" ried himself as well as the ill custom and iniquity
" of the age would admit, and had given no offence

1666. "to the house, towards which he had always paid "all possible respect and reverence."

They who considered the honour and dignity only of the house, and the ill consequence of such violations as these, which way soever their affections were inclined with reference to their persons, were all of opinion, "that their offences were so near "equal that their punishment ought to be equal: "for that besides the lord Ossory's denial that he "had made[g] any reflection upon any words spoken "in parliament, which was the aggravation of his "offence, there was some testimony given to the "house by some lords present, that the lord Ossory "had complained of the duke's comportment to- "wards him before those words used in the house "by him, of the Irish interest or Irish understand- "ing, and resolved to expostulate with him upon "it; so that those words could not be the ground "of the quarrel. And it was evident by the duke's "own confession and declaration, that he was as "ready to fight, and went to the place appointed by "himself for encounter; which made the offence "equal." And therefore they moved, "that they "might be both brought to the bar, and upon their "knees receive the sentence of the house for their "commitment to the Tower."

Some, who would shew their kindness to the duke, were not willing that he should undergo the same punishment with the other, until some lords, who were known not to be his friends, were very earnest "that the duke might receive no punishment, be- "cause he had committed no fault; for that it was

[g] made] *Omitted in MS.*

" very evident that he never intended to fight, and " had, when no other tergiversation would serve his " turn, prudently mistaken the place that was ap- " pointed by himself;" which was pressed by two or three lords in such a pleasant manner, with reflection upon some expressions used by himself, that his better friends thought it would be more for his honour to undergo the censure of the house than the penalty of such a vindication: and so they were both sent to the Tower. 1666.

They are both sent to the Tower.

And during the time they remained there, the bill against Ireland remained in suspense, and uncalled for by those, who would not hazard their cause in the absence of their strongest champion. But the same spirit was kept up in all other arguments, the displeasure, that had arisen against each other in that, venting itself in contradictions and sharp replies in all other occasions; a mischief that is always contracted from the agitation of private affairs, where different interests are pursued; from whence personal animosities arise, which are not quickly laid aside, after the affair itself that produced those passions is composed and ended. And this kind of distemper never more appeared, nor ever lasted longer, than from the debate and contestation upon this bill.

Those two lords were no sooner at liberty, and their displeasure towards each other suppressed or silenced by the king's command, but another more untoward outrage happened, that continued the same disturbance. It happened that upon the debate of the same affair, the Irish bill, there was a conference appointed with the house of commons, in which the duke of Buckingham was a manager; and

A scuffle between the duke of Buckingham and the marquis of Dorchester;

1666. as they were sitting down in the painted chamber, which is seldom done in good order, it chanced that the marquis of Dorchester sat next the duke of Buckingham, between whom there was no good correspondence. The one changing his posture for his own ease, which made the station of the other the more uneasy, they first endeavoured by justling to recover what they had dispossessed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct blows; in which the marquis, who was the lower of the two in stature, and was less active in his limbs, lost his periwig, and received some rudeness, which nobody imputed to his want of courage, which was ever less questioned than that of the other.

The misdemeanour, greater than had ever happened, in that place and upon such an occasion, in any age when the least reverence to government was preserved, could not be concealed; but as soon as the conference was ended, was reported to the house, and both parties heard, who both confessed enough to make them undergo the censure of the house. The duke's friends would fain have justified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always disposed them to affect any opportunity to manifest it. But the house sent them both to the Tower; from whence after a few days they were again released together, and such a reconciliation made as after such rencounters is usual, where either party thinks himself beforehand with the other, as the marquis had much of the duke's hair in his hands to recompense for his [h] pulling off his periwig, which he could not reach high enough to do to the other.

For which they are committed to the Tower.

[h] his] the

When all things were thus far quieted, the bill was again entered upon with no less passion for the stock that had been wasted. The arguments which were urged against the bill for the injustice of it were [i], "that they should, without any cause or de- "merit on their part, or any visible evidence of a "benefit that would accrue from it to this kingdom; "deprive his majesty's two other kingdoms of a pri- "vilege they had ever been possessed of: that they "might as reasonably take away the trade from any "one county in England, because it produced some "inconvenience to another county more in their "favour: that the large counties of Norfolk, Suf- "folk, Kent, and other provinces, would lose as "much by the passing of this act, as the northern "and any other counties would gain by it: that "those two kingdoms might with the same justice "press his majesty's concurrence, that they might "have no trade with England, which would bring "more damage to England by much, than it would "gain by this act of restraint: and that it was "against all the maxims of prudence, to run the dan- "ger of a present mischief and damage, as this "would produce in Ireland by the testimony of the "lord lieutenant and council of that kingdom, only "upon the speculation of a future benefit that might "accrue, though it were yet only in speculation."

1666.

Arguments urged against the Irish bill in the house of peers.

These, and many other arguments of this kind, which for the most part were offered by men who had not the least relation to Ireland, made no other impression, than that they were content to leave Scotland out of the bill; which increased their party

[i] were] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. against Ireland, and gave little satisfaction to the other, who did not so much value the commerce with the other kingdom. And this alteration the house of commons likewise consented to, but with great opposition, since in truth that concession destroyed the foundation upon which the whole fabric of the bill was supported.

Against clauses in it derogatory to the prerogative.

Then the debate fell upon some derogatory clauses and provisos very contrary to his majesty's just prerogative and power, (for they made his majesty's own license and warrant of no effect or authority, but liable to be controlled by a constable; nor would permit the importation of three thousand beeves, which, by an act of parliament in Ireland, were every year to be delivered at Chester and another port for the provision of the king's house;) which in many respects the house generally disliked, and desired "that it might have no other style than had "been accustomed in all the penal acts of parliament which were in force, it being to be presumed, "that the king would never dispense with any violation of it, except in such cases as the benefit and "good of the kingdom required it; which might "naturally fall out, if there should happen such a "murrain amongst the beasts of that species, as had "been these late years amongst horses, which had "destroyed so many thousand, that good horses "were now hard to be procured. And if the same "or the like destruction should fall upon the other "cattle, we should have then more cause to complain of the scarcity and the dearness of meat, than "we have now of the plenty and cheapness, which "was the only grievance now felt, and which kingdoms seldom complained of: and in such a case

" it would be very great pity, that the king should 1666.
" not have power enough to provide for the supply
" of his subjects, and to prevent a common dearth."

But this was again opposed with as much passion and violence as had fallen out in any part of the debate; and such rude arguments used against such a power in the king, as if the question were upon reposing some new trust in him, whereas it was upon divesting him of a trust that was inherent in him from all antiquity: and " that it was the same thing " to be without the bill, and not to provide against " the king's dispensing with the not obeying it, " whose inclinations were well known in this parti- " cular; and therefore the effect of them, and of the " importunity of the courtiers, must be provided " against." And throughout this discourse there was such a liberty of language made use of, as reflected more upon the king's honour, and indeed upon his whole council and court, than had been [k] heard in that house, but in a time of rebellion, without very severe reprehension: and it so much offended the house now, that, notwithstanding all the sturdy opposition, it was resolved that those clauses and provisos should be amended in some places, and totally left out in others. And with the alteration and amendments it was sent down to the house of commons.

These clauses are amended by the lords.

At this time the public affairs and necessities were little looked after or considered. The fleet was come into the ports, but there was [l] no money to pay off the men: and what was equally mischievous, there was no way to make the provisions for the

[k] than had been] as had not been

[l] there was] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. next spring, that the fleet might be ready for the sea by the time the enemy would assuredly be out. If the victualler were not supplied, who had much money due to him, the season would be past in which he was to buy the cattle that he must kill; and he complained how much he should suffer by this bill of Ireland, which already raised the price of all meats. And the yards wanted all those tacklings and rigging and masts, without which another fleet could not be sent out, and which could no otherwise be provided than by ready money. The king had anticipated all his own revenue, and was ready to expose that for further security, but nobody would trust. The new provisos in the bill of supply at Oxford gave no new credit, but were found as mischievous as any body had apprehended they would be: and the bankers, who in all such occasions were a sure refuge, wanted now credit themselves; which that they might not recover, the parliament had treated them as ill since they came together, that is, with reproaches and threats, as they had done at Oxford. In which kind of persecution sir William Coventry, and some who followed him, led the van, very much to the king's prejudice and against his command; but they excused themselves, upon the credit it gave them in the house to do him service.

All this was well enough understood: and it was as visible, that they intended to make it a forcible argument for the passing the Irish bill, which, though from different motives, was now become the sacrifice, without which they would not be appeased; and therefore, when the bill was sent to them with those alterations and amendments, they rejected them all, and voted, "that they would adhere to

" their own bill without departing from a word of it, 1666.
" except with reference to Scotland," from which they had receded. And if upon this very unusual return the house of peers had likewise voted, " that " they too would adhere," which they might regularly have done, and would have been consented to by the major part of the house if the question had been then put; there had been an end of that bill. But that must not be suffered: the party that cherished it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep silence, and were numerous enough to obstruct and defer what they liked not, though not to establish what they desired. Some of them, that is, some who desired that the bill should pass, though uncorrupted by their passions, did not like the obstinacy of the house of commons in not departing from some unusual clauses and pretences; yet were not willing to have the like vote for adhering to pass in that house, which it might do when all other remedies should fail; and therefore moved, " that a " conference might be required, in which such rea- " sons might be given as might satisfy them." Many conferences, and free conferences, were held, in which the commons still maintained their adherence with a wonderful petulance: and those members, who were appointed to manage the conferences, took the liberty to use all those arguments, and the very expressions, which had been used in the house of peers, against leaving any power in the king to dispense; and added such other of their own as more reflected on [m] his majesty's honour; and yet concluded as if they could say more if they were

The commons adhere to their bill.

[m] on] upon

1666. provoked, upon which every man might make what glosses he pleased, and the king himself was left to his own imaginations.

An instance of the passion of the commons in this affair.

There need be no other instance given of the unheard of and incredible passion that was shewed in the transaction of that bill, than a particular that related to the city of London. Upon the news of the great fire in London, and the devastation that it made there, there was so general a lamentation in Ireland as might be expected from a neighbour province, that had so great a commerce with and dependance upon it. And the consent in this lamentation was so digested, that the several provinces had made a computation and division between themselves, and presented a declaration to the lord lieutenant and council, "that they had so tender a sense "of that calamity, that if they were able to raise "money to administer some assistance to the city "towards the reparation of their great loss, they "would willingly offer and present it; but that not "being in their power or possession, the great "scarcity and want of money throughout that king-"dom being notoriously known, but there being "somewhat in their power to offer, which might at "least testify their good-will, and not be wholly use-"less towards the end they designed it; they had "agreed between themselves to give unto the lord "mayor and city of London, to be[n] disposed of by "them to such particular uses as they should judge "most convenient, the number of thirty thousand "Irish beasts, which should be delivered within "such a time and at such ports," which were named,

[n] to be] and to be

"to any such persons as should be appointed to re- 1666.
"ceive them." And of this they desired the lord lieutenant and council to advertise the king, and likewise give notice to the city of London: both which were done accordingly; and the advertisement arrived in the city in the time when this bill was depending in the lords' house. Whereupon the lord mayor and aldermen presented a petition to the lords, with a proviso that they desired might be inserted in the bill that was before them, by which it was provided, "that nothing contained in that bill "should hinder the city of London from enjoying the "charitable donative of the thirty thousand cattle, "but that they might have liberty to import the "same."

It can hardly be believed with what passion and indignation this petition was received by the house, what invectives were made against the city, "for "their presumption in interposing their own parti- "cular interest to obstruct the public affairs of the "kingdom;" and then the reflections which were "made upon the council of Ireland, for giving coun- "tenance to such an address, and becoming instru- "ments themselves to promote and advance it:" which they would not allow "to be an offering of "charity, but a cheat and a cozenage by combination "to elude an act of parliament, which they could not "choose but hear of, and could not but believe that "it was passed by this time. Which if it had been, "and that power left in the king as had been pro- "posed, they might now see how it would have been "applied: for they could not doubt, but there would "enough have advised the king, that he should gra- "tify the city of London with a license for this im-

1666. "portation; which could not or would not have "been so warily drawn, but that, under the license "for thirty thousand, there would be three hundred "thousand imported into England; and this the "great charity aimed at and was assured of." And so, after much bitterness, they desired "that the pe- "tition and the proviso might be both rejected."

But this passion did not cover the whole house, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much less transported with it. They believed it was a very seasonable intention of charity, and would not take upon them to frustrate it; and so prevailed, that it was passed in that house, and transmitted with approbation to the other. But it had the same fate there with the other provisos, and was thrown out with that bitterness and observation which had been offered against it by some lords. Nor could any expedients alter or remove their obstinacy, though many were offered upon conferences, and particularly "that all the beasts should be killed in "Ireland and powdered there, and then sent over in "barrels or other casks;" but they found cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, as if it would[o] for a time keep down the price of meat in England, which they desired to advance: so that there was nothing gotten in all those conferences, but the discovery of new jealousies of the king and the court, and new insinuations of the discontents and murmurs in the country, that this bill was so long obstructed. Which being still represented to the king with the most ghastly aspects towards what

[o] as if it would] and

effects it might produce, his majesty in the end was prevailed upon, notwithstanding very earnest advice to the contrary, not only to be willing to give his royal assent when it should be offered to him, but to take very great pains to remove those obstructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to solicit particularly very many lords to depart from their own sense, and to [q] conform to what he thought convenient to his service; which gave those who loved him not great argument of triumph, and to those who loved him very passionately much matter of mortification. Yet after all this, and when his majesty had changed some men's resolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be absent when the bill should come again to be discussed, it was carried with great difficulty and with great opposition, and against the protestation of many of the lords. 1666.

The bill at length consented to by the house of lords.

In all the debate upon this bill, and upon the other of accounts, the chancellor had the misfortune to lose much credit in the house of commons, not only by a very strong [r] and cordial opposition to [s] what they desired, but by taking all occasions, which were offered by the frequent arguments which were urged "of the opinion and the authority of the "house of commons, and that it was fit and neces-"sary to concur with them," to mention them with less reverence than they expected. It is very true: he had always used in such provocations to desire the lords, "to be more solicitous in preserving their "own unquestionable rights and most important "privileges, and less tender in restraining the excess

The chancellor offends the commons by desiring the peers to restrain their encroachments.

[q] to] *Not in MS.* [r] strong] *Omitted in MS.* [s] to] of

1666. "and new encroachments of the house of commons,
"which extended their jurisdiction beyond their
"limits." He put them often in mind "of the
"mischiefs which had their original from the liber-
"ties the house of commons assumed, and the com-
"pliance the house of peers had descended to, in the
"late ill times, and which produced the rebellion;
"and were carried so far, till, after all the multi-
"plied affronts, they had wrested the whole autho-
"rity out of the hands of the house of peers, and at
"last declared them useless members of the com-
"monwealth, and shut up the door of their house
"with a padlock, which they had never power to
"unfasten till the king's return." And in those occasions his expressions were many times so lively, that they offended many of the lords who were present, and had too much contributed to those extravagancies, as much as it could do any of the commons.

The truth is, he did never dissemble from the time of his return with the king, whom he had likewise prepared and disposed to the same sentiments whilst his majesty was abroad, that his opinion was, "that the late rebellion could never be extirpated
"and pulled up by the roots, till the king's regal
"and inherent power and prerogative should be
"fully avowed and vindicated; and till the usurpa-
"tions in both houses of parliament since the year
"1640 were disclaimed and made odious; and many
"other excesses, which had been affected by both
"before that time under the name of privileges,
"should be restrained or explained:" for all which reformation the kingdom in general was very well disposed, when it pleased God to restore the king to

it. Nor did the convention, which proclaimed the king and invited him to return, exercise after his return any exorbitant power, but what was of necessity upon former irregularities, and contributed to the present ends and desires of the king. 1666.

And this parliament, that was upon the dissolution of the former quickly summoned by the king's writ, willingly inclined to that method, as appears by those many excellent acts which vindicated the king's sovereign power over parliaments, and declared the nullity of all acts done by one or both houses without the king's assent; declared and settled the absolute power of the crown over the militia; repealed that act of parliament that had excluded the bishops from being members of the house of peers, and restored them to their session there; and repealed that other infamous act for triennial parliaments, which had clauses in it to have led the people into rebellion; and would willingly have prosecuted the same method, if they had had the same advice and encouragement.

But[u] they had continued to sit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpose in matters out of their own sphere, to give their advice with reference to peace and war, to hold conferences with the king, and to offer their advices to him, and to receive orders from himself; and[x] his majesty was persuaded by very unskilful men, "that they were "so absolutely at his disposal, that he need never "doubt their undertaking any thing that would be "ingrateful to him, and that whilst he preserved "that entire interest he had in the lower house,

[u] But] But when

[x] and] when

1666. " (which he might easily do,) he need not care what " the other house did or had a mind to do;" and so induced his majesty to undervalue his house of peers as of little power to do him good or harm, and prevailed with him too far to countenance that false doctrine; towards which the house of peers themselves contributed too much, by not inquiring into or considering the public state of the kingdom, or providing remedies for growing evils, or indeed meddling with any thing in the government till they were invited to it by some message or overture from the house of commons: insomuch as they sat not early in the morning, according to the former custom of parliaments, but came not together till ten of the clock; and very often adjourned as soon as they met, because that nothing was brought from the house of commons that administered cause of consultation; and upon that ground often adjourned for one or two days together, whilst the other house sat, and drew the eyes of the kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant people for their good.

Then when any thing fell in their way, that they could draw a consequence from that might relate to their privileges, they were so jealous of an invasion, that they neither considered former precedents, nor rules of honour or justice; and were not only solicitous for that freedom which belonged to themselves and their menial servants, who ought not to be disquieted by private suits and prosecutions in law, whilst they are obliged to attend upon the service of their country in parliament, but gave their protections " ad libitum," which [y] were commonly

[y] which] and which

sold by their servants to bankrupt citizens, and to such who were able but refused to pay their just debts. And when their creditors knew that they could have no relation of attendance to any man, and thereupon caused them to be arrested, they produced some protection granted to them by some lord; whereupon they were not only discharged, but their creditors, and all who bore any part in the prosecution, were punished with great rigour, and to their great loss and damage, and to the great prejudice of the city, and interruption of the whole course of the justice of the kingdom. 1666.

When the house of commons sent up a bill for the suppression or reformation of many irregularities and misdemeanours, which had grown up in the late times of disorder and confusion, as conventicles and other riotous assemblies, wherein there was a necessity of some clauses of power to inferior officers, whereby they were qualified to discover those transgressions which would otherwise be concealed; the lords would be sure always to insert some proviso to save their privileges, even in acts which provided for the punishment of such crimes as no person of quality could be supposed to be guilty of, as stealing of wood, and such vile trespasses: which took up much time in debate, and incensed the house of commons, and produced many froward debates, in which the king thought the peers in the wrong.

This kind of temper or distemper upon very trivial and light occasions, in seasons which required gravity and despatch, provoked the house of commons to take more upon them, to enter upon contests sometimes unreasonably with the lords, and to assume to themselves an authority in matters in which

1666. they ought not to interpose; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by those who had near relation to the king and were trusted in his service, to affect novelties both in the form and substance of their proceedings, which those persons concurred in, much out of ignorance what was to be done, and more out of affectation to compass some crooked end of their own, to the prejudice of another person who was in their disfavour. And when these sallies out of the old trodden path were taken notice of, and his majesty had been [z] advised to prevent them in time, he was persuaded, either "that the exceptions were in matters of little moment, and "made only by formal men who liked nothing that "was out of the old common road; or that the liberty would be applied to his service, and in many "useful occasions would mollify or subdue the inconvenient morosity of the lords; or, when it "should exceed, it would be still in his majesty's "power to restrain it, when he found it necessary." And these discourses prevailed too much with his majesty, till he now found the humour was grown too sturdy for him to contend with; and the same men, who had persuaded him to contemn it, were now more importunate with him that he would comply with it.

He offends the lords by advising them not to insist unreasonably upon privilege.

The chancellor had always as earnestly opposed the over-captious insisting upon privilege in the lords' house, either when in truth there was not a just ground for it, or when they would extend it further than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in mind "of many exorbitant acts

[z] been] *Not in MS.*

"which stood still mentioned in their journal-books, 1666.
"of their proceedings in the late rebellious times,
"which might be looked upon as precedents by
"posterity, and in which the house of commons
"had really invaded their greatest privileges, and
"trampled upon their highest jurisdiction; which
"was worthy of their most strict proceedings[a] to
"vindicate by protestation, and by expunging the
"memorial thereof out of all their books and re-
"cords, that there might be no footsteps left to mis-
"lead the succeeding ages;" and often desired them
"to preserve a power in themselves to put the
"house of commons in mind of their exceeding
"their limits, for which they often gave them occa-
"sion, and particularly as often as they sent to
"quicken them in any debate, which was a very
"modern presumption, and derogatory from that
"respect which a house of commons had always
"paid to the house of lords. And this they could
"not reasonably or effectually do, till they declined
"all unjust or unnecessary pretences to privileges
"which were not their due, and especially to a
"power of calling private cases of right and justice,
"which ought to be determined by the law and in
"courts of justice, to be heard and adjudged before
"themselves in parliament; of which there were
"too frequent occasions to oppose and contradict
"their jurisdiction."

This free way of discourse offended many of the lords, who thought him not jealous enough of nor zealous for the privilege of the peerage: and they were now very glad that he used so much more

[a] proceedings] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. freedom against the proceedings of the house of commons, which they were sure would be resented below, more than it had been above. And many of his friends informed him "how ill it was taken; "and how carefully all that he said, and much that "he did not say, was transmitted by some of the "lords to them, who would not fail in some season "to remember and apply it to his highest disadvan- "tage;" and therefore desired him "to use less fer- "vour in those argumentations." But he was in that, as in many things of that kind that related to the offending other men, for his own sake uncounsellable: not that he did not know that it exposed him to the censure of some men who lay in wait to do him hurt, but because he neglected those censures, nor valued the persons who promoted them; being confident that he would be liable to no charge that he should be ashamed of, and well knowing that he had, and being well known to have, a higher esteem of parliament, and a greater desire to preserve the just privileges of both houses, than they had who seemed to be angry with him on that behalf; and that the extending them[b] beyond their due length would in the end endanger the destruction of parliaments.

But he shortly after found, that this guard was not secure enough to defend him. What he said in parliament was the sense of more who would not speak it, than there were of those who disliked it; and how much soever it offended them, they could not out of it find a crime to accuse him of. But they who were more concerned to remove him from

[b] them] *Omitted in MS.*

a post, where he too narrowly watched and too often obstructed the liberties they took, resolved to sacrifice all their oaths and obligations, which obliged them to the contrary, to the satisfaction of their envy and their malice: and so whatsoever he said or advised in the most secret council to the king himself with reference to things or persons, they communicated all to those who had most reason to be angry, yet could not own the information. Of all which he had advertisement, and that a storm would be shortly raised to shake him, of which he had little apprehension; never suspecting that it would arise out of that quarter, from whence he soon after discerned it to proceed. 1666.

Lord Roos moves for a bill to set aside the issue of his lady.

There was another particular and private accident that fell out at this time, that administered more occasion of faction and dissension in the houses, which always obstructed and perplexed all public business. The marquis of Dorchester had some years before married one of his daughters to the lord Roos, eldest son to the earl of Rutland; both families very noble in themselves, and of great fortunes, and allied to all the great families of the kingdom. The lady being of a humour not very agreeable, and not finding the satisfaction she expected where she ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where she ought not to find it. And her husband, as men conscious to themselves of any notable defect used to be, was indulgent enough, not strictly inquiring how she behaved herself, and she as little dissembling or concealing the contempt she had of her husband; until his friends, especially the mother, (who was a lady of a very great spirit and most exalted passion,) took notice of her frequent

1666. absence from her husband, and of her little kindness towards him when she was present with him. And the young lady, who with her other defects had want of wit to bear a reprehension she deserved, instead of excusing, avowed her no esteem of her husband; charged him with debauchery, and being always in drink, which was too true; and reproached him with folly, as a man not worthy to be beloved. And the passion swelling to a great height on both sides, the marquis came to be engaged on the behalf of his daughter, and challenged her husband to fight with him, who in many respects was not capable, nor did understand those encounters.

In the end, after many acts of passion, which administered too much cause of mirth and scandal to the world, yet[c] by the advice and mediation of friends, as good a reconciliation as in such cases is usual was made, and the young couple brought to live again together. And the lady having the ascendant over the lord, who was very desirous to live quietly upon any conditions, that he might enjoy himself though he could not enjoy her, he was contented that she made a journey to London upon pretence to see some friends: and the time being expired which she had prescribed for her absence, he sent to her to return, which she deferred from time to time. But at last, after many months, she returned to him in so gross a manner, that it appeared that she had kept company too much, which she never endeavoured to conceal; and when her husband told her "that she was with child," and

[c] yet] yet in the end

asked "who got it;" she answered him confidently, 1666.
"that whoever got it, if it proved a boy, as she be-
"lieved it would, he should be earl of Rutland."

This was more than the young man could bear without informing his mother, (the good earl not loving to engage himself in so much noise,) who presently took care that the great-bellied lady was made a prisoner in her chamber, strictly guarded, that she could not go out of those lodgings which were assigned her; all her own servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other things supplied that she could stand in need of or require, liberty only excepted. Yet in this close restraint she found means to advertise her father of the condition she was in, and made it much worse than it was, seeming to apprehend the safety of her life threatened by the malice of the countess, mother to her husband, "who," she said, "did all "she could to alienate his affection from her; and "now that she found she was with child, would per-"suade him that it was not his; and took all this "extreme course, either to make her miscarry and "so endanger her life, or to put an end to mother "and child when she should miscarry:" and therefore besought her father, "that he would find some "way to procure her liberty, and to remove her "from that place, as the only means to save her "life."

The marquis, with the passion of a father, and confidence of his daughter's virtue, and having no reverence for the countess, thought it an act of great barbarity, and consulted whether he could have any remedy at law to recover his daughter's liberty; and finding little hope from thence, (the restraint of

1666. a wife by the jealousy of her husband in his own house being not a crime the law had provided a remedy against,) he resorted then to the king, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean time he sent women to see and attend his daughter, who were admitted to see and confer with her, but not to stay with her; the countess declaring, "that she should want nothing; but that since it "was impossible that the child could be of kin "to her son, who had not seen her in so many "months before the child must have been got, "she would provide that there should be no more "foul play, when she should be delivered; and "after that time she should have no more restraint "or residence in that house, but be at liberty to go "whither she would."

The conclusion was, the lady was delivered, and a son born, who was quickly christened by the name of Ignoto, and committed to a poor woman, who lived near, to be nursed; and as soon as the lady recovered strength enough, she was dismissed and sent to a house of her father, who received her with the affection he thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the strictness he could, he remained satisfied in her innocence, and consequently of the barbarous treatment she had received, and the injury and indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the son; for which he was resolved to leave no way untried in which he might receive a vindication. In order to which he first desired the king to hear all parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a day for the doing it, being attended by some bishops and other lords of his council; when the marquis and his daughter,

and the lord Roos and his mother, appeared[d], with more ladies than could have the patience to stay till the end of the examination, where there were so many indecent and uncleanly particulars mentioned, that made all the auditors very weary. Nor was there any room for his majesty to interpose towards a reconciliation, which was in view impossible; nor could the lady be excused for a great delight she took in making her husband jealous of her, and in expressing a contempt of him, whatever else she was guilty of: and so the king left it as he found it. And the marquis, who had heard many things he did not expect to have heard, took his daughter to his own house, that by her own strict behaviour she might best vindicate herself from the scandal she lay under: but she quickly freed him from that hope and expectation; for within a short time after, she, not being able to submit to the strict order and discipline of her father's house, which would not permit those wanderings she desired to make, nor the visits she desired to receive, made an escape from thence, and lodged herself at more liberty, and lived in that manner as gave too much evidence against her with reference to the time that was past. 1666.

The marquis, who was a man of great honour, and most punctual in all things relating to justice, gave a noble instance of both, and how much he detested the base and unworthy behaviour of his own child, when it was manifest to him. He went to the other noble family, asked their pardon "for his "incredulity, and for any offence he had committed "against them, or reproach he laid upon them[e], for

[d] appeared] *Omitted in MS.*

[e] them] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. "the vindication of an unworthy woman, who he "believed now had deserved all and more aspersions "than had been laid on her: and therefore he was "ready to join with them to free the family, as much "as was possible, from the infamy she had brought "to them and him, and that her base issue might "not be an eternal reproach in their family." Upon this she was first, upon the complaint of her husband, cited into the court of the arches before the ecclesiastical judges: where, after a full examination of witnesses on both sides, and hearing what she could allege in her own defence, her crime was declared to be proved sufficiently; and thereupon a judgment was pronounced "of a full and entire se-"paration *a toro et a mensa pro causa adulterii*," in such a form, and with such circumstances, as are of course in those cases.

But all this was not remedy enough against the bastard's title to the honour of that illustrious family: and therefore there was a bill prepared, wherein all the foul carriage of the lady was set out, the birth and christening of Ignoto, the declaration and judgment of the court of the arches, and separation of the parties for the adultery proved; and thereupon a desire that it might be declared by act of parliament, "that the son, Ignoto by name, is a "bastard, and incapable to inherit any part of the "title, honour, or estate of or belonging to the house "of Rutland; and the same incapacity to attend all "other children, which from that time, the birth of "Ignoto, had or might be born from the body of "that lady." And this bill being presented to the house of peers by a lord nearly allied to that family, the earl of Rutland being present with the marquis, as

A bill brought in for this purpose.

soon as it was read the marquis stood up, and "with 1666.
"expressions of trouble, and of the justice that was
"due to the greatness of a noble house, that had
"received a foul blemish by a woman of too near a
"relation to him, of whom he was ashamed," gave[f]
his free consent to the bill, and desired that it might
pass: and the earl likewise besought the house, "that
"so infamous a branch might not be ingrafted into
"his family, of which his son, the lord Roos, was
"the sole heir male, with whom the honour must
"expire."

It was a case of general concernment as well as compassion, that an impudent woman should have the power to give an heir to inherit a noble title and fortune by descent, when it was so notoriously known and adjudged to be illegitimate, and a mere stranger to the blood of the house. Yet there were some very good lords, and who detested the woman and the wickedness, made much scruple of making a new precedent in a particular case, that undermined a foundation of law, and opened a door to let in an unjust declaration, upon pretences not so well proved, to the disinherison of one that should not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare case, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two declarations of bastardy in parliament in the reign of king Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

Some lords against a precedent of this nature.

However, it was as just that she should be heard, to defend both herself and her son; and therefore the bill being read the second time, it was committed, with direction "that the lady should have "personal notice[g] to attend, before the committee

[f] gave] and therefore gave

[g] notice] *Omitted in MS.*

1666. "entered upon it:" and after long inquiry at the places where she used to be, it was found that she had transported herself into Ireland, in the company of the person whom she had preferred before her husband; and there was reason to believe, that it was after she had notice of the bill. However, all proceedings were respited till there was full proof given to the house, by the person himself who had spoken with her in Ireland, and given her the warrant that required her attendance upon the committee: and then, after many days longer delay, it was read and debated, and by the committee reported to the house to be engrossed.

The duke of Buckingham obstructs the bill.

And then, and not till then, the duke of Buckingham opposed the passing of it, upon pretence, "that "in the bill the lord Roos [h] had assumed a title that "belonged to him by his mother, who had been "heir female to Francis earl of Rutland;" when that title, now challenged, had descended to George the brother of Francis, and had been enjoyed by two earls of Rutland since. It was generally thought a strange exception: nor was it known, whether the duke was disposed to it as a revenge upon the marquis, or to shew his own power, (for he had many who concurred with him in both houses upon many occasions,) or whether he did in truth desire to support the lady in her infamy, he not being overtender in cases of that nature. However, it was necessary to recommit the bill, that some expedient might be there found to remove the obstruction, which though he was obstinate in till the house was tired with many days debate upon it, in which most

[h] the lord Roos] *Omitted in MS.*

of his adherents upon the unreasonableness left him, 1666.
he persisted still and maintained the debate almost alone, till the time of the session approached; when the lord Roos was compelled to humour him in leaving out a title that all the world gave him. And then, after intolerable vexation to the house and loss of time, he desisted to appear against it; and the act passed the royal assent. But it is at length passed.

The ill humour of the house of commons was not 1667.
abated; and though they knew well that their Irish bill could never have passed the upper house but by the king's powerful interposition, they remained still jealous, or pretended to be so, that he would not give his assent; which till he should do, they would admit no debate of money: so that as soon as the bill was presented to him, his majesty came to the house of peers, and sent for the commons to attend him upon the 18th day of January; when, after he had given his consent to that and another private bill which they had presented, he told them, "that he had now passed their bills, and that he "had been in hope to have had other bills ready to "have passed too." He said, "that he could not "forget, that within few days after their coming "together in September, both houses had presented "to him their vote and declaration, that they would "give him a supply proportionable to his occasions; "and the confidence of that had made him anti- "cipate that small part of his revenue which was "unanticipated, for the payment of the seamen; "and his credit had gone further than he had rea- "son to think it would, but it was now at an end. The king passes the Irish bill with a speech.

"This was the first day," he said, "he had heard "of a supply, being the 18th of January, and what

1667. "it would amount unto, God only knew; and what "time he had to make such preparations as were "necessary to meet three such enemies as he had, "they could well enough judge. And he must tell "them, what discourses soever were abroad, he was "not in any treaty; but by the grace of God he "would not give over himself and them, but would "do what was in his power for defence of both. It "was high time for them to make good their pro- "mise; and it was high time for them to be in the "country, as well for the raising of money, as that "the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants might "watch those seditious spirits which were at work "to disturb the public peace. And therefore he "was resolved to put an end to that session on "Monday next come sennight, before which time "he desired, that all things might be made ready "that he was to despatch." His majesty said, "he "was not willing to complain that they had dealt "unkindly with him in a bill he had then passed, "in which they had manifested a greater distrust of "him than he had deserved. He did not pretend "to be without infirmities, but he had never broken "his word to them; and if he did not flatter him- "self, the nation had never less cause to complain "of grievances, or the least injustice or oppression, "than it had had in those seven years since it had "pleased God to restore him to them: he would," he said, "be glad to be used accordingly."

This little quickness in his majesty prevailed more upon them, than all the former application had done: and now they saw that they should not be suffered to continue longer together, they resolved to leave some relish of their former duty and compliance.

Not that the humour was at all reformed or abated in those who had shewed so much frowardness, who still continued as perverse as ever; but they were overruled by the major part of the house, as they would have been sooner, if it had not been that a contrary course had been pursued to what had been formerly. Nor were they, who had advised that change, willing that his majesty should decline the same method, and were much troubled that he had not caressed the house more in his late discourse. And as they had before advised his majesty freely and without any condition to offer the repeal, and release the act that had granted the chimney-money to him, which was a very good and a growing revenue, but they observed to be unpopular; upon a presumption (which they assured him could not fail) that so generous an action in his majesty towards his people would be immediately requited by a grant of much greater value, (and they had prevailed in this counsel, if the chancellor and the treasurer had not with great resolution opposed it, and made evident to his majesty, "that he ought never to propose it himself though with conditions, because "it would make the grace undervalued, and the "conditions to be esteemed unreasonable; nor to "hearken to any general proposition, or consent to "the repeal of that act, without having a full and "equivalent recompense (which ought to be very "well weighed) granted in the same act of parliament; for he had now sufficient evidence, that the "constant good-humour of the house was not to "be depended upon:" which confirmed his majesty to resolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and so that mischief was prevented:) so they 1667.

1667. were[i] now as desirous that the house of commons would still press the despatch of the bill of accounts, which rested in the lords' house; and assured them, "that if they would embrace the same positiveness "they had done, the chancellor would be no more "able to hinder the passing of that act, than he had "been to keep his majesty from consenting to the "Irish bill so much against his resolution." But they and their friends could not keep up the same spirit of stubbornness in the house, nor prevail with the king to recede from his purpose: so that the bill for accounts remained still in the house of lords not fully discussed. And such a progress was made in the house of commons, notwithstanding all opposition, that a bill for supply was prepared within the time prescribed, though in respect of the proportion not equal to the occasions, and entangled still with the same inconvenient clauses and provisos which had so unwarily been admitted at Oxford, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready money; of which his majesty was now fully convinced. But the time was too short to labour in the alteration. And so the bill, as it was, was sent up to the lords, who, after the short formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a passage through that house: so that it was now ready for the king.

A supply granted.

The king's speech at the prorogation of the parliament.

The eighth of February the king came to the parliament, and the speaker of the house presented the bill to the king, who gave his royal assent to it, and thanked them for it, with his assurance, "that "the money should be laid out for the ends it was

[i] so they were] yet were

" given: however," he said, " he hoped he should 1667.
" live to have bills of this nature in the old style,
" with fewer provisos." He took notice, " that the
" bill of accounts for the money that had been al-
" ready raised since the war was not offered to him:
" but," his majesty said, " that he would take care
" (after so much noise) that the same should not be
" stifled; but that he would issue out his commis-
" sion in the manner he had formerly promised the
" house of peers; and the commissioners should
" have very much to answer, if they should not dis-
" cover all matters of fraud and cozenage." He told them, " the season of the year was very far
" spent, in which the enemy had got great advan-
" tage; but by the help of God, he would make all
" the preparations he could, and as fast as he could:
" and yet he would tell them, that if any good over-
" tures were made for an honourable peace, he would
" not reject them; and he believed all sober men
" would be glad to see it brought to pass.

" He would now prorogue them till towards win-
" ter, that they might in their several places intend
" the peace and security of their several countries,
" where there were unquiet spirits still working.
" He did pray them," and said, " he did expect it
" from them, that they would use their utmost en-
" deavours to remove all those false imaginations
" out of the hearts of the people, which the malice
" of ill men had industriously infused into them, of
" he knew not what jealousies and grievances: for
" he must tell them again, and he was sure he was
" in the right, that the people had never so little
" cause to complain of oppression and grievances, as

1667. "they had since his return to them. If the taxes "and impositions were grievous and heavy upon "them, they would put them in mind, that a war "with such powerful enemies could not be main- "tained without taxes; and he was sure the money "raised thereby came not into his purse." He concluded "with promising himself good effects from "their affections and wisdoms, wherever they were: "and he did hope they should all meet again of one "mind, for his honour, and the good of the king- "dom." And so they were prorogued to the tenth day of October next.

The king appoints commissioners for inspecting public accounts.

And now the king had very much to do, more than he had time or tools to despatch. Yet he began first where the parliament left off[k], that when they came again together, they might have no cause to say, that he had not performed what he had promised, and so with the same passion renew their clamour upon the accounts, which was made now a very popular complaint; and whoever was accused of obstructing that examination, was presently concluded to have had a share in the prey. Yet he was not willing that such a strict account or examination should be made, especially into the receipt of the lord Ashley for the prizes, that all the world should know what money had been issued out by his own immediate orders, and to whom. Hereupon he commanded his attorney and solicitor general to prepare a commission, with all necessary clauses, to call all persons to account who had received any such monies, and to examine and take any exception to the same.

[k] off] *Not in MS.*

And that there might be no just exception to the commission, which he knew would be strictly looked into, they were required "to advise with all or any "of the judges, that it might have their approba- "tion; and that there should be a clause in the com- "mission, whereby the commissioners should be "authorized to call any of the judges to their assist- "ance, when upon any matters of difficulty they "should think it necessary." And that there might be no exception to any of the commissioners, as like to be partial in respect of friendship or alliance to any of those who were to be called before them, his majesty appointed all those persons, who were nominated for commissioners in the bill sent to the house of lords by the commons, to be inserted into this commission; and likewise made choice of such a number of the peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named those who had upon all debates in the house appeared most solicitous, that a very exact account should be required, and of such others who had no relation to the court, and were looked upon with the utmost[l] esteem by the house of commons: all which was prepared with the expedition that was possible, and the commission sealed; and notice given to all the commissioners, that they should meet at a place appointed; upon a day named, presently after Easter, by which time the judges would be returned out of their circuits[m]; and they were then at liberty to adjourn to what place they pleased. 1667.

We are now to enter upon the occurrences of the year 1667, a year little more prosperous to the pub-

[l] utmost] most

[m] circuits] circuit

1667. lic than the year preceding, and fatal in respect to[n] many calamitous accidents to the chancellor, and which put a period to his greatness; the circumstances whereof, very notorious, were so interwoven with the public transactions of state, that it is not easy to make a distinct and clear relation of the one without the other.

The king involved in great difficulties.

The temper the parliament had been in, and the delay they had used in giving the king any supply towards the carrying on the war, made the king discern that he had been too confident of their generosity, and that they had already departed from that spirit with which they first had persuaded him to enter into that war: and it was as evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the Dutch could endure being beaten longer than he could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and supplied with the money of France, and the governing party had subdued all contradictions; and whatever their affections were, all compliance and submission appeared to the commands of the state; and there wanted nothing but the season of the year to carry their fleet again to sea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All murmuring was transplanted from thence into England, where it grew up plentifully: and the king was, upon the credit of an act of parliament that was passed on the eighth of February, to provide a fleet ready to encounter with the potent enemies in the spring. There was no trade by sea, and therefore could not be much by land, that could bring any benefit to the king; and the seamen ran all to the privateers, who adventured

[n] to] of

for booty, which they preferred before serving in the royal navy. 1667.

The king in those [o] straits called that council together with whom he used to consult his most secret affairs; and the chief officers at sea, and the commissioners of the navy, attended to give such information as was necessary before any resolution could be taken. There the whole state of the navy was inquired into [p]; what was in the stores, and what the defects or deficiencies were, and what hopes there were of supplying them; what ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three months. The victualler was sent for, to give an account what provision of victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on board in the same time, which was the utmost that could be limited. Every officer protested, "that there could "not be the least attempt [q] towards any preparations "without a good sum of ready money:" and the yards were in that necessity by reason of the great arrear of wages that was due to them, that they were near a mutiny, and could not be kept to their work, being necessitated to do any work abroad to get victual for their families. The inferior officers, which belonged to the stores, lived by stealing and selling what they were intrusted to keep. In short, all things were presented to be in that confusion, that there appeared no probability of being able to set out any fleet before the enemy would be so strong upon the coast, that it would be very difficult to make a conjunction between those ships which were

He consults the private committee upon the perplexing state of his affairs.

[o] those] these *in MS.*
[p] was inquired into] *Omitted*
[q] attempt] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. in the river, and the other which were at Portsmouth and in other ports.

This desperate representation did not make the king take a sudden resolution: but the same council met many days morning and evening. All ways were thought upon which might administer hope to get any money; and considerations were entered upon what was to be done in case a fleet could not be provided fit to engage the enemy, and which way a defensive war was to be made at sea, and how the trade should be secured, and the coast and harbours be so preserved, that the enemy might do no affront at land; for every day brought loose and ungrounded intelligence of bodies of horse and foot, drawn in France to the sea-side in many places upon that large coast, and likewise in Holland, and great provision of flatbottoms, as if they intended to make some descent; which kind of rumours exceedingly discomposed the common people, though they who understood the expeditions of that nature, and with what difficulty land armies were transported, were not moved by those reports. After all expedients were considered and well weighed, his majesty found cause to despair of being able to set out in any time a fleet equal to the occasion, and so contracted his thoughts to the other part, for the defensive.

A resolution taken to act on the defensive.

There is a point of land on the Kentish coast that extends itself into the sea, and at the very entrance of the river, where the king had often thought and discoursed of erecting a royal fort, that would both preserve the coast, and likewise be a great security to the river: and the prosecuting this design was in this consultation thought of great importance,

and the erecting another fort in another place, and repairing and strengthening Landguard[r] Point upon the coast of Essex and Suffolk. 1667.

For preparations for the sea, it was thought fit and enough, "that a good squadron of light frigates "should ride on the coast of Scotland, and another "of the same strength lie[s] off Plymouth, both which "should intercept the trade of Holland both outward and inward, if they did not maintain it with "strong convoys, which would break their fleet; "and in those cases the frigates would easily retire "to their harbours. That some frigates should be "always in the Downs, to chase picaroons from infesting the coast, and to observe and get intelligence of the enemies' motion, and upon occasion "should retire up the river. That there should be "some of the greatest ships at Chatham, Portsmouth, and other places, prepared and put in "readiness against the end of summer, before which "time money might be provided: and then the "enemies' fleet being weary and foul, it might be "presumed the French would return early into "their own ports, which were so far off; and then "the frigates from the west and the north might "find the way to join with the great ships, which "should be ready against that time, and either fight "the Dutch if they should choose it, or infest their "coast more than they had done this, and take all "their ships homeward bound from all places, which, "upon the fame of their being masters of the sea all "the summer, would repair home without apprehension of an enemy." And there were some

[r] Landguard] Langhorne [s] lie] to lie

1667. officers of great experience at sea, who, being called by the king to advise upon this project, declared with confidence, "that the Dutch would be greater "losers by the war thus conducted the next sum- "mer, than they had been in any year since the "war begun."

For the security of trade, it was declared, "that "there was no possible way to secure it but by re- "straining it, and not suffering any merchants' ships "to go to sea, and by giving them [t] advice to send "to all their factors and correspondents, that they "should send no goods home till they received new "orders:" which restraint some were against, "both "because it would have an ill reception with the "people, when they should find that a war, which "had been entered into for the enlargement and ad- "vancement of trade, had produced a cessation of "all trade; and it would appear very hard that men, "who had laid out their own stocks and were will- "ing to venture them, should be forbid and hin- "dered from sending them to those markets for "which they had provided them, which [x] would turn "to little less loss to them than they should incur "by their being taken by the enemy. Then it "would be, not a discouragement but a dissipation "of the seamen, who, if they could have no employ- "ment in the king's ships or in the merchant ships, "would be scattered abroad to seek their fortune, "so [y] that they would not be brought together when "the king had occasion for their service. In the "last place [z]; that the giving this order for restraint,

[t] by giving them] to give them

[x] which] and which

[y] so] *Not in MS.*

[z] place] *Not in MS.*

" and advice to the merchants to inform their fac- 1667.
" tors and correspondents, would be, and could not
" choose but be, an absolute publication of this reso-
" lution of the king to send out no fleet in the
" spring; which was yet agreed to be the highest
" secret."

All these reasons were temperately weighed and answered, " that it could not be unreasonable or un-
" just to hinder men from doing themselves harm:
" the king could not take their goods from them to
" his own use; but he might lawfully hinder them
" from spoiling or destroying the goods that were
" their own. That their being taken by the enemy
" (which would be unavoidable) concerned the king
" and the kingdom little less than it did the private
" owners: it would increase the insolence and the
" wealth of the enemy, and reflect upon his ma-
" jesty's honour as well as impoverish his subjects;
" and the difference would be very great between
" losing their goods, and keeping them upon their
" hands for a better market. For the dissipation of
" the seamen, there would no great danger be of
" that: the squadrons on the western and the
" northern coasts, which must be very well manned,
" would entertain good numbers; and the rest
" would put themselves on board the privateers,
" who should be all bound to come home against
" the time the king would have occasion for their
" service, and then the privateers should be re-
" strained as now the merchants. For the keeping
" the present resolution secret, which would by this
" means be published, it were to be desired that it
" might remain a secret as long as should be possi-
" ble: but as discerning men would easily discover

1667. "it, and could not but already know that it was im-
"possible for the king in time to set out a fleet[a], so
"it would[b] quickly be evident to all the world; and
"the secret was not to be affected longer than it
"could be concealed."

There was another inconvenience or mischief that was in view, that would come like an armed man upon the city, which was want of fuel, especially the want of coals from Newcastle, of which there had been a vast quantity consumed in the late fire, which had likewise consumed those houses and chimneys which should be supplied; yet the people remained still, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded closer together. But to that there could be no other remedy applied, but the sending[c] orders to Newcastle to employ all their ships, and all they could procure, in sending as much coal as was possible to London and the towns adjacent, before the enemy's fleet could put to sea: and convoys were assigned too strong for their privateers or small parties of their men of war[d]: and the king gave two or three vessels of his own, and likewise money, to fetch coals, that the poor might have them at the rates they cost; and directed the city to do the same. All which produced some good effect.

Upon the whole matter, and thorough examination of the whole, the king concluded upon all the particulars mentioned before, assigning proper persons to supervise every particular, that all should be executed in time that was agreed upon. The duke

[a] fleet] ship
[b] would] would not
[c] sending] sending both
[d] of war] *Omitted in MS.*

issued out all his orders to the ships, with which sir William Coventry was charged, whose office it was: and the king would charge himself with that which was most important, the fortification at Sheerness; whither his majesty made a journey in the cold and depth of winter, and took an engineer and some officers of the ordnance with him, that all things might be supplied from thence which belonged to that office. He caused master-workmen to be sent from London, and drew common labourers enough out of the country, having provided money to pay them. And after all things were in this order, and he had seen the work begun, he left the master-engineer, whom he designed to be the governor of the fort, for which he was very equal, upon the place; and committed the overlooking of the whole, that all possible expedition might be used, to one of the commissioners of the ordnance, who promised to look carefully to it: and his majesty returned to London, when in the opinion of all his servants he had stayed too long in such a season, and such an air, to the danger of his health. How all those resolutions and orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, must unavoidably be mentioned in its place. 1667.

The king inspects the fortifications of Sheerness.

It cannot be imagined by any man who in any degree knew him, that the chancellor, though he was present, could have any part in these resolutions but the submitting to them; every particular being so much out[e] of his sphere, that he never pretended to understand what was fit and reasonable to be done: nor throughout the whole

[e] out] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. conduct of the war was he ever known to presume to give an advice; but presuming[f] that all whose profession it was advised what was fit, he readily concurred. And he did always declare, "that in "this last consultation all points were so fully de- "bated; and that there was so concurrent an opin- "ion in the commanders of the ships, and the offi- "cers of the navy, with the approbation of the duke "of York, prince Rupert, and the general, that it "was not possible to set out a fleet in time equal to "that of the enemy, to engage with it; and that "the next best would be to stand upon the defensive "in the manner proposed: that[g] it did not appear "to him, that there was any election left but to "pursue that course," which he did believe very reasonably proposed and resolved upon; nor did any thing occur to him, why very much good might not be hoped from it, he being so totally unskilful in the knowledge of the coast and the river, that he knew not where Sheerness was, nor had ever heard of the name of such a place till this last discourse, nor had ever been upon any part of the river with any other thought about him, than to get on shore as soon as could be possible.

The king had not himself thought of this defensive way, but approved it very much when he heard it so fully discussed, and in which himself had proposed all his doubts, which no man raised more pertinently in arguments of that nature than his majesty; and it may be he liked it the better, because at that time, as he was heartily weary of the war, so he was not without a reasonable hope of

[f] presuming] presumed [g] that] *Not in MS.*

peace, which he resolved to cherish, as he told the parliament at parting he would do. The grounds of which hope, and the progress thereupon, the entering upon a treaty, and the conclusion thereof, will be the discourse and relation we shall next enter upon. 1667.

How ill success soever had attended the negociation of Denmark by the irresolution and unsteadiness of that court, Mr. Coventry had conducted what had been committed to him with very good effect in Sweden. And after he had disposed that court (where he had rendered himself extremely acceptable) to a just esteem of the king's friendship, and an equal aversion to the Hollander, and concluded such articles as were for the present and joint convenience and benefit of both nations, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a stricter and nearer alliance, and to that purpose to send ambassadors into England, where they had an agent; he returned to give his majesty an account and information of the constitution and temper of that court, and of the nature and disposition of the two ambassadors who were to attend his majesty, who were chosen before he left Stockholm, and resolved to embark within ten days: which they did, and arrived about the time, or soon after, that the city was so miserably destroyed by fire; which was the less favourable conjuncture, not so much by the influence that dreadful distraction and damage was like to have upon the vigorous carrying on the war, as by the ill humour which the parliament shortly after appeared to be in, and their manifest obstinacy against the king's desires; which was a temper very different from what they expected to have found, and

The Swedes disposed to assist the English.

They send ambassadors into England.

1667. what they had been informed had possessed them from the time of his majesty's return. Nor was this manifest indisposition without some unhappy impression upon the spirits of the ambassadors, and that alacrity they brought with them presently to enter into a treaty, and conjunction of forces against the common enemy.

It was manifest enough, that the crown of Sweden was weary of the obligations they had been long bound in to France, which had superciliously neglected of late to comply with what was on their part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make alliances with Denmark, and the lesser neighbour princes, as those of the house of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to their disadvantage, than to consider that crown which had been so useful to them, as if their friendship was so considerable to them. Nor was this out of a real disesteem of them; but that they might bind them to a faster dependance upon them, and that they might not be severed from their interest, whatsoever they should declare it to be. And therefore, when it was first suspected that they might be inclined to England, and [h] Holland apprehended that they might be induced to make a conjunction with the bishop of Munster, France (as hath been touched before) sent their ambassador Pompone into Sweden, with a full year's salary of what was in arrear, much more still remaining due, and to incline that crown to a neutrality between the English and the Dutch; in which he found Mr. Coventry had prevented him, and though he had not then the character of ambassador, he was much bet-

[h] and] and that

ter respected there than he was. And as they would have joined with the bishop of Munster, if he had advanced according to his pretence, or had not been absolutely taken off by France; so, when he was diverted from his purpose, they were the more inclined to make a firm alliance with England, and thereby such a further conjunction with other princes, protestant or catholic, that might give some check to the impetuous humour of France, which they now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the banks which belonged to their neighbours, as they had been formerly of the house of Austria; and for the same reason were as desirous to retire from any dependance upon or relation to that crown, as they had been formerly of its protection; and were very well prepared to change their alliance, and, if they might not be losers by it, to make a conjunction with Germany and the house of Austria, into which it was reasonable to be presumed that the United Provinces would be glad to be received upon moderate conditions when a peace should be made with England. 1667.

And this was the prospect that had been presented to them by Mr. Coventry, and upon view of which they now sent their ambassadors, without being terrified by the declaration of France on the behalf of the Dutch; and with a resolution, if they could not persuade Holland to separate from that conjunction, and make a peace apart with the king, (which they laboured by their ambassador the count of Dhona to the States,) to join their interest frankly to that of his majesty, and to run the hazard and expect the issue and event of the war.

The two ambassadors were Flemming and Coyet, both senators in the great council of Sweden, and The characters of the ambassadors.

1667. men of prime authority there: the former of the greater place and esteem, being a nobleman of an ancient and noble extraction of a family in Scotland, that had lived through many descents in Sweden in great employment and lustre; and this man never dissembled a particular devotion to the king, and for that reason principally was designed to this negociation. The other was not so well born or bred, or of so cheerful a complexion, but a more thinking and melancholic man, more conversant in books, and more versed in the course and forms of business; and by his own virtue and humble industry had from a mean and low birth, which in those northern kingdoms is the highest disadvantage, by degrees ascended to the degree of a senator, which is the chiefest qualification; and had gotten his first credit and reputation by a negociation he was intrusted with in Holland, and a treaty well managed by him there: which made him liable in that court to be much inclined to the Dutch, and to have some particular friendship with De Wit, they having studied together in Leyden when they were young; and their familiarity after was improved to a good correspondence in that negociation in Holland.

This being well known and commonly spoken of there, Mr. Coventry endeavoured to prevent his designation to that employment, by speaking to the chancellor of that kingdom, who always received him with open arms, and gave good testimony of his hearty and passionate desire of a firm conjunction between the two crowns; and, though he was of a French extraction, had a full jealousy of the want of sincerity and justice of that nation. When he discovered the apprehension Mr. Coventry had, he per-

suaded him, to acquiesce in his judgment rather than to credit common rumour: "that he well knew "both, and had contributed to the election of both, "who were very fit to be joined together in an em- "ployment of this nature, the gaiety and warmth of "the one standing in need sometimes of the phlegm "of the other, who would yet pay that reverence to "him that was due to his superior quality; and "that he was too good a Swede to have inclinations "to the Dutch, how much conversation soever he "had with them. In a word, he would pass his "word;" which put an end to all further doubts: and it was well enough known, that he had been raised by and was a creature of the chancellor. 1667.

And in truth, from the time of their arrival in England he carried himself very fairly, and without any visible inclination to the Dutch, and much less to the French; and they both very frankly declared to those of the king's ministers with whom they conferred with intimacy, "that that crown would "gladly be separated from them, if a good expedient "might be found to make them no losers by it." Yet it is as true, that after they had been some months in England, and saw in how ill a posture the king was for the carrying on the war, and how far the parliament was from giving money, or from any reasonable compliance with his majesty's desires, Coyet did not concur with the same warmth in his despatches, with Flemming, into Sweden; but writ apart to the ministers there, "that they must "take new measures, and not depend upon a con- "junction with England, to which, how well soever "the king was inclined, he would not be able to "bear the part they expected, by reason that he

1667. "had no power with the parliament;" which letters his majesty's agent then in Sweden had a sight of: which produced no other effect there, but a resolution [1], that if they saw that either the king was inclined to a peace, or would be reduced to a necessity to treat, the ambassadors should offer in the name of their master his interposition, which their ministers in France and Holland should then likewise make proffer of, upon advertisement first from them, but with a secret assurance to the king, "that if a "treaty should not take effect," (which it could hardly be believed it would do,) "the crown of Swe- "den would firmly unite itself to his majesty's inter- "est, and engage in the war with him;" which it was evident they were more inclined to, than to a peace in which France might be comprehended. But that which they most desired was, that a peace might be made with the Dutch without comprehending France, in which they would willingly enter, which would draw Spain and all the princes of Germany to desire to be admitted for their own security.

Sweden is desirous of a separate treaty with Holland.

The Conde of Molina was ambassador from Spain, near the king, a man rather sincere than subtile, and so had the more need of the advice and assistance of the baron of Isola, who was, under the title of envoy from the emperor, entirely trusted and supported (as most of the emperor's ministers were) by the king of Spain; who being a Burgundian, born in those parts which remain subject to Spain, had an implacable hatred to the French; and by the employments he had undergone in Italy and

The same endeavoured by the Spanish and imperial ambassadors.

[1] a resolution] *Omitted in MS.*

other places, where he had been ambassador, had made himself so considerable, that he was become notoriously odious to the French, and was a man of great experience and very subtile parts. Both those ministers did heartily wish a peace between England and Holland, with the exclusion of France: but if that could not be, they had much rather the war should continue as it was, than that France should be comprehended in the peace; for which they had some reason. For at this time the king of Spain died, which they had too many reasons to believe would put an end to the quiet of Flanders; and therefore would be glad that they might have the assistance of England for their defence, and in which Holland could not think itself unconcerned. The probability of this, and the constant intelligence they received from the Hague, "that there "were already jealousies grown up between the "French and the Dutch," persuaded them, and they endeavoured to persuade the king, "that Hol- "land might be now induced to treat by them- "selves; or if they could not do that, but must "proceed jointly with France, they would upon as- "surance of the king's affection sever themselves "from them, if they insisted upon any thing that "was not for the joint benefit of all." The king left them to do what they thought fit towards it, without undertaking any thing on his part until their fair intentions were discerned, and then to assure them of his majesty's inclinations to peace upon just and honourable conditions. 1667.

There is no doubt, there was a real jealousy and dissatisfaction between France and Holland at this time. The Dutch complained, "that the French Holland and France jealous of each other.

1667. "had broken their promise with them, no less this "year than they had done the last: they had "indeed declared and proclaimed a war, but they "had done no acts of hostility; and whereas they "were engaged that their fleet should have joined "with theirs in the month of May, they had never "been in view but at a great distance, and suffered "the Dutch to fight so many days together without "any help from them. And upon their renewed "promise, they had again carried out their fleet to "meet with them in August; when they failed "again, and left them exposed to the whole Eng-"lish fleet: so that they were compelled with some "loss to get again into their harbours." And now they had a real apprehension, that they might treat with England apart, and leave them to support the war at sea by themselves, whilst they pursued their expedition against Flanders upon the death of the king of Spain.

On the other side, France as much complained of the proceedings of the Dutch: "that after they had "received a great sum of money from them, with-"out which they could not have set out their fleet, "they no more cared for a conjunction with their "ships, nor went to that length at sea which they "were bound to, to join with them; which they "might have done, if they had continued their "course when they put to sea in the beginning of "June. Instead of which they went over to the "coast of England to find the English, confessing "thereby, that they had no need of the assistance "of the French ships; but leaving them[k] to shift "for themselves. And afterwards, in the end of

[k] them] *Omitted in MS.*

" August, they came not to the place they had pro- 1667.
" mised to have done; by reason of which neglect
" and breach of faith, if a singular act of Providence
" had not prevented it, their whole fleet had fallen
" into the hands of the English, as some part of it
" did." But that which made them likewise willing that this war should be at an end was, that now, the king of Spain being dead, they might enter upon a war with Spain; towards which they prepared manifestos to publish upon the matter of their right, and already prepared levies of men, of which they could pretend no other use: yet they professed to the Spanish ambassador to have no such design in their purposes. However, they would not enter upon any treaty apart without the Dutch: nor would De Wit, who entirely governed the councils of Holland, be induced to consent to any overtures made to separate, before or in the treaty, from France; but gave information[1] of whatsoever was proposed by the baron of Isola, or the Spaniard, or any other person, to that purpose, and enlarged upon that information more than was true, to endear his own punctuality.

The queen mother endeavours to bring about a peace with France.

The mother of the king was then at Paris, having chosen rather to reside there than in England, since she saw the resolution of a war between them, and desired nothing more than to be an instrument in the composing those differences, which she thought were not good for either of the crowns; and found now another style in that court than it had used to discourse in, and from the time of the news of the death of the king of Spain, that the

[1] gave information] informed me

1667. French king had spoken as if he wished a peace with England: whereupon, about the time when the parliament was prorogued, the earl of St. Alban's came to London, as to look to the queen's affairs, of which he was the great intendant. He informed the king "of the good temper the French "court was in, and that he was confident, if his ma- "jesty would make any advance towards a peace[m], "the queen would be able to dispose that king to "hearken to it, and to be a mediator between Eng- "land and Holland; and either to draw them to "consent to what was just, or to separate from "them: and he thought it very reasonable, that the "conditions should be referred to the king of France, "who he was sure, upon such a trust, would be "very careful of the king's honour and interest." He professed "to have no authority for any thing "he proposed, from the French king or any of his "ministers, but from the queen's conjectures and "his own observation: and if the king would give "him a commission, he would presently return, and "would not be known to have any powers, till he "should find such a conjuncture to own it; as that[n] "the peace should be concluded before there should "be any discourse of a treaty, (which he knew the "French most desired,) lest Spain might interpose "to perplex or delay it." And therefore he pro- posed, "that he might carry instructions with him, "upon what conditions the king would be willing "that a peace should be established." His majesty was resolved never to make the French king arbi- trator of the conditions of the peace, nor that it

She sends the earl of St. Alban's into England for that purpose.

[m] towards a peace] towards it

[n] that] *Not in MS.*

should be treated at Paris; and most of all, that 1667.
the earl of St. Alban's should not have any power to treat, "who," the king always used to say, "was more a French than an English man:" and he likewise resolved, "that no overture should be "made towards peace in his name."

Whilst this was in suspense, the earl received letters from Paris, in which he was advised "to return "thither with power to treat, and with information "what conditions the king expected; for that his "most Christian majesty had so prepared the Dutch, "that he should have present power to treat and "conclude; and so all things might be settled before "the formality of a treaty should be entered into or "heard of." This did not alter the king's resolution against authorizing the earl to treat, or making Paris the place of the treaty. But because the letters were written by monsieur Ruvigny, who was a person well known to the king, and of whom he had a good opinion, and whom he well knew to be too wary a man to write in that manner without having good authority to do so; his majesty was contented "that the earl should make haste to Paris; and if "he found by Ruvigny that what they proposed was "really desired, he should undertake to know that "the king was very well inclined to peace, and that "himself would willingly confer with any body he "would carry him to; and whatsoever should be "proposed, he would with all possible expedition "transmit it to the king:" with this further direction, "that if he were satisfied that their intentions "were real, which the alterations in their own af-"fairs made probable, he should endeavour, by the "queen or Ruvigny, to discover whether it would

1667. "not be possible to persuade that king to treat apart "and exclude Holland; and if it appeared to him "that was not to be hoped, that at least his ma- "jesty would think it reasonable, that the Dutch "should restore whatsoever fort or other place they "had taken upon the coast of Guinea, and likewise "pay a good sum of money to the king towards the "charge of the war."

The earl of St. Alban's had no mind to return with no larger a commission, and pretended to know "that this was not the way to advance a treaty, "and that he could as well write what the king "directed, and know again by letter what they "thought of it; and therefore he would stay and "despatch the business which the queen sent him "about, before he would return." But when he saw the king was contented he should stay, rather than have nothing to do in the treaty, he chose to be at the beginning of it, and thought he should not be afterwards left out; and so offered the king to depart without further delay.

The king had from the beginning informed the chancellor of all that the earl had said to him from his arrival: and when he had received those letters from Ruvigny, he sent him to shew them to him; and himself came presently whilst the earl was there, and directed him to prepare the instructions for him, which the earl likewise desired he might do. The chancellor very well knew, that his credit with the king was much lessened, and that of the lord Arlington much increased, who did not like that he should meddle in the affairs proper to his office: besides he had no mind to be intrusted in the transactions with France, of whose want of faith

he had too much experience; which would neither be grateful to the queen mother nor to the earl. And therefore he very earnestly besought the king, "that, it being the lord Arlington's province, all "those despatches might pass through his hands." The king said, "that he knew the lord Arlington "desired his help, and that he should prepare all "those despatches," which he required him to do: and the earl of St. Alban's seemed very much to desire, "that not only his instructions might be pre- "pared by him, but that he might always receive "his majesty's pleasure signified by him, upon any "material point that should arise;" which the king promised him he should do. Upon which the other, who durst not decline those commands he was so unwilling to obey, humbly desired his majesty, "that "the whole matter might be first communicated to "that committee of the council, with which he con- "sulted his most secret affairs; and that the earl "of St. Alban's might be present at the debate; and "that whatever he should be appointed to put into "writing might be perused at that board, and if it "required his majesty's signature, it should be pre- "sented to him by the secretary:" all which his majesty consented to. And all being done according to what is mentioned before, the earl departed for France. 1667. He returns into France to negociate a peace.

It is very true, there was yet no visible alteration in the king's confidence towards the chancellor with reference to his business, in which his majesty had no reserve, and spent as much time with him, and vouchsafed as often to go to his house, as he had ever used to do. But when he offered to speak to him of other matters, as he could not forbear to do,

1667. which he thought concerned him more than his most public transactions; he found his countenance presently shut, no attention, and no answer, or such a one as shewed he was not pleased: and he took all occasions to make others see, that he was advised only by him in what immediately related to his business, and not more in that than by other men.

When the earl came to Paris, he found the French less upon their guard than he expected: and the king himself frankly expressed himself "to wish an "end of this war, and that he might be possessed of "the king's friendship, which he valued exceedingly;" and referred to monsieur Lionne, "who," his majesty said, "was prepared to speak to him." Monsieur de Lionne kept himself within generals, "of the benefit that England would receive by a "peace, which made his Christian majesty desire to "promote it, and never more to depart from his "friendship. That he was obliged in honour now "not to quit the Dutch, having entered into a treaty "with them when he had no imagination that there "would be a war between them and England; that "he had been often sorry for it, and had given them "just occasion to complain, that he forbore longer "than he ought to have done to give them help: "and therefore he could not now leave them to "themselves, except they were obstinate, and re"fused to make peace upon just conditions; and "then he would renounce them." But when he found that the earl had no power, and that he talked of money to be given for the charge of the war, and expected to have particular overtures to send to the king; he brake off the discourse till he could confer with his master.

Within two or three days monsieur de Lionne visited the earl, and told him, "that if any thing "were to be done towards a peace, there must be "no time lost: it was yet in the power of the most "Christian king to bring it to pass upon just and "honourable terms; but he knew not how long it "would[o] continue in his power; for he confessed "the Dutch took themselves to be so much behind-"hand, that they had no mind to peace, believ-"ing they had now advantage. That it was never "heard of, that after a war between two nations, "upon the making peace, either side consented to "pay the charge of the war: therefore any expecta-"tion of that, or but mention of it, would shut the "door against any treaty." He gave two papers to him to send to the king, both under his own hand, which his majesty had the choice of, and which the Dutch would consent to; "but if that[p] should be "required, the treaty was at an end before it was "begun, and the sword must determine it." 1667.

Overtures made by France;

One of the papers contained an equivalent, of which his majesty might make his choice; whether "all things should continue in the state and posture "in which they were at present, either side enjoying "what they had got, and sustaining what they had "lost, and so all things to remain as they were be-"fore the war;" or, "that a true and just computa-"tion should be made of the losses on both sides, "and they who were found to have received most "damage should be repaired at the charge of the "other." The other paper was, "that if his ma-"jesty approved of either of these expedients, he

[o] would] would not

[p] that] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. "should himself make choice of the place where "the treaty should be, whither all parties should "send their ambassadors:" but then the French king desired, "that his majesty would not make choice of "any place in the king of Spain's dominions;" and the Dutch ambassador there had nominated Cologne or Francfort or Hamburgh. And the earl of St. Alban's immediately sent away an express with those two papers to the king, upon receipt whereof the council were summoned.

There was no hope of money, which some, not reasonably, had expected should be paid whenever a peace should be made; and it had been mentioned in Holland as a thing they expected should be propounded, it may be, that it might be propounded and rejected. Then the despatch of whatsoever should be agreed concerned the king very much, that the Dutch might not put to sea, nor discover that the king had no fleet to set out; for the spring was not yet come, though approaching. There appeared little difficulty in the choice of the equivalent, for the English had taken much more from the Dutch than they had taken from England; and the other computation would be endless, and liable to very difficult examinations: so that by an unanimous advice the king resolved to choose the first equivalent.

Which the king approves.

Difficulties about settling the place for the treaty.

But then the place for the treaty was not so easy to be chosen. The most natural had been Brussels, Antwerp, or some other large city in Flanders, which were all neutral places, and to which all parties might repair with the same ease and security. Whereas all the places mentioned in Germany were at so great a distance, that the summer would be far entered into, and so, many acts of hostility pass, be-

fore the ambassadors could meet; and the English must pass through the enemy's country thither: therefore there could be no thought of any of those places. Then the king of France had taken upon him to exclude Flanders, which he had no power to do, and it was as desirable to the Dutch as to the king: and therefore it was thought reasonable, that the king should insist upon some good town there, of which there was choice enough; and if Holland should approve it, France could not reject it. But on the other hand it was clearly discerned, that France would never send ambassadors into a country which he meant at the same time to invade; and that his majesty knew very well to be the intention, and the ground of that king's desiring the peace, which it was plain enough the Dutch did not desire, and were only drawn to consent to a treaty by the positive demand of France, which they durst not contradict: and therefore it concerned the king to preserve that good disposition, and that the French ambassadors might come fully instructed to concur with the English in what should be just, and prevent any insolent carriage of the Dutch, or the Dane, who was likewise to have his ambassadors upon the place. 1667.

Upon those reasons the express returned with his majesty's consent and election of the first equivalent, and "that as soon as he should know that the Dutch "had consented to it, his majesty would propose "some equal place for the treaty." And as soon as the express was despatched, his majesty entered upon the debate of a fit place for the treaty; and said, "that he had a proposition then made to him "by sir William Coventry, that was of such a na-

1667. "ture as much surprised him, as he believed it "would the lords; yet he had not thought enough "to dislike or condemn it:" and so bade the other to propose it. He, with some short apology which he did not use to make, said, "that he perceived "there would be little less difficulty in agreeing "upon a place for the treaty than upon any doubts "which might arise in it; for if the king of France "was to be gratified in the exclusion of Flanders, "it would be very inconvenient to oblige the king "to send into Germany, which by the great delay "would deprive the king of the greatest benefit he "expected from the treaty; the speedy despatch "whereof would be attended with the greatest con- "veniences: therefore he had proposed to the king, "that he would immediately write to the States Ge- "neral without acquainting France with it, and offer "to send his ambassadors to treat the peace at the "Hague, that it might be speedily concluded, which "would otherwise take up much time in sending for "any resolution to the States upon what should "arise. If they consented to it, it would probably "be attended with success, the general affection of "the people being well known to desire peace: and "if they refused it, the world would conclude that "they would have no peace, when they would not "treat about it; and that his majesty would never "have done them the honour to have sent his am- "bassadors home to them, if he had intended to "deny any thing that was reasonable to them."

It was very new, and thought of by nobody but the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry [q], who

[q] and sir William Coventry] *Not in MS.*

had communicated it together; and the objection of the condescension that it would seem to most men, as if the king sent to beg a peace at their own doors, was obvious to all men: but that would have been an [r] objection against admitting it to have been at Paris. But the States not being [s] upon any level that pretended to an equality, the probable convenience or benefit that might attend it was only to be considered; and the affection and desire of the people generally to peace was so notorious, that there was reason to believe that they would not be willing that a treaty begun amongst them should end but with effect: and therefore it was unanimously agreed, that the advice should be pursued. But then it was a new doubt, how the message or overture or letter, for the form was not yet thought of, should be conveyed; for the sending a trumpet or express had much more of application than the thing itself: and it was to be wished, that it might be gone out of the king's hands before the answer could come from Paris, lest new instance should be made for a particular place. 1667.

It was at last resolved, that the Swedes ambassadors (both France and Holland having accepted the mediation of that crown) should be consulted with, to engage their minister at the Hague to deliver it [t] to the States General; for there was some apprehension, that if De Wit knew of it, it might be considered only by that committee which was deputed for that affair, and never be brought to the States: and the adjusting all that was commended to the chancellor, who presently sent for the ambas-

[r] an] *Not in MS.*
[s] being] *Omitted in MS.*
[t] it] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. sadors, and found them very ready to perform any office which might bring them upon the stage in the treaty. And upon communication together, they were willing to send a servant of their own to the Hague, who should deliver to their ambassador the king's message to the States General, as an effect of their mediation and credit with the king. And so it was delivered, not in the form of a letter, but of a message in the third person to the States General, signed by the king and under the signet; and the ambassadors sent a gentleman in post with it.

The Dutch refuse to restore Poleroone according to the overtures.

But within two days a new alarm comes from France; and all that was done proved to be to no purpose. When they received the king's answer, they could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as they could expect; and monsieur de Lionne shewed it as such to the Dutch ambassador, who finding that he was satisfied with it, and by him, that the king was so too, fell into much passion, and declared, "that it was not according to the consent "he had given to the king and to monsieur de "Lionne; and that he must protest against any "treaty to be entered into upon this declaration." He put him then in mind, "that he had informed "the king, in his presence, that there was an article "in the late treaty between England and Holland, "by which they were obliged to deliver up the "island of Poleroone in the East Indies to the East "India company of London, which they had for-"merly consented to with Cromwell, but had nei-"ther delivered it then nor yet, and were resolved "rather to continue the war than to part with it; "which he had declared, when with reference to all "other things he consented to the alternative: and

" if the king would not[u] release that article of the 1667.
" former treaty, his masters would not enter upon
" any new."

Whether this was true or no cannot be known. But monsieur de Lionne came in great disorder to the lord of St. Alban's, and told him all that the ambassador had said, and confessed it " to be very " true, and that the king remembered it well, and " promised that article should be released: but that " he, not clearly understanding the delivery of it to " be contained in a former treaty, and knowing it " had been many years in the possession of the Dutch, " and that it still remained so, thought it had been " comprehended in the alternative, and forgat to in- " sert it in the paper that was sent to the king, for " which he asked a thousand pardons; and made it " his suit to the king that he would yield to it, and " that a treaty that was so necessary to the good of " Christendom might not be extinguished upon his " negligence and want of memory:" which was a strange excuse for a minister of his known sagacity.

The earl of St. Alban's refused to transmit any such tergiversation to the king, and said, " he knew " the king would never consent to it; and that this " manner of proceeding, after that his majesty had " consented to what themselves proposed, would " shut out all future confidence of their sincerity." Monsieur de Lionne was exceedingly troubled and out of countenance, as a man conscious to himself of a great oversight, and desired him, " that he would " meet the Dutch ambassador at his lodging, that " they might together endeavour to remove him

[u] not] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. "from the obstinacy he professed;" which the earl was contented to do, and the ambassador, how unwillingly soever, was prevailed with to meet at the time appointed: but they were no sooner met, and monsieur de Lionne entered upon the argument of Poleroone, but the ambassador fell into a rude passion, and said, "the war should determine it." And when the earl of St. Alban's began to speak of the unreasonableness of the demand, and entered upon the foul manner in which they had first taken that island from the English, who were in possession of it; he told him, "that he had nothing to say to "him," and used much other language unfit for the other to hear, and which [x] he had returned with interest, if monsieur de Lionne had not interposed, and been very desirous the conference should end, the ambassador's insolence being not to be endured. And so they parted, Lionne seeming very much offended; and he complained to the king, and the earl gave the account of all to his majesty.

The French king was no less surprised and offended when he heard what message the king had sent to the States, (which he was advertised of by an express from Holland,) than De Wit had been at the delivery of it, who presently knew the drift of it, and could not forbear to tell the States, "that the "design was only to stir up the people against the "magistrates, and indeed to make them the judges "of the conditions of the peace:" and he knew well that the people generally were no friends to the East India company, (where himself had a great stock,) and therefore would never consent that a treaty en-

[x] which] *Not in MS.*

tered into should break only upon their interest; 1667.
which likewise was the reason, why they had provided that that particular should be first consented to, before any treaty should be agreed upon. And hereupon he prevailed upon the States General forthwith to declare in the negative, "that the treaty "should not be at the Hague." But at the same time, after the naming again of Cologne and Francfort, they added, "that if the king desired to do "them the honour to appoint it in any place of their "dominions, which they did not presume to propose, "they should consent that it might be at Breda, or "Maestricht," or a place or two that they named: and this was resolved before the people heard that the king had named the Hague, and wondered and murmured at their refusal.

The king of France took it ill, that at a time when he proceeded with so much openness, and had given the first rise to a treaty, and opened the door which the Hollander peevishly shut against it, by his own offering the alternative, which the king had so far approved as to make his election; he should at the same time, without communicating it to him, send this overture to the Hague: which troubled him the more, that it gave him matter of jealousy to apprehend, that there was some other underhand treaty that was concealed from him, and contrived by the baron of Isola, who he knew had been privately at the Hague, and had conference with De Wit. And the same imagination did more perplex the queen mother and the earl of St. Alban's, who looked upon this as a device to exclude them from having any share in the peace; the earl having digested the conclusion in his own breast, that in what

1667. place soever the treaty should be held, he should without doubt be intrusted in the managery of it. However the king could not own his part of the dislike, since his majesty might without any violation of friendship make the overture by message to the Hague, as well as to or by him: therefore he seemed to take no exception to it, and only sent the king word, "that he believed the Dutch would "quickly discern, that this condescension in his ma- "jesty proceeded from some expectation of a party "amongst the people to second it; and therefore he "was confident they would never consent to treat "at the Hague." But he proposed, "as the best "way for expedition, that it might be at Dover," which he advised his majesty not to reject: "for if "it were once begun there, it might possibly, and "he would further it all he could, quickly be re- "moved to Canterbury, and probably might be con- "cluded in London."

But before this message arrived, the other new demand of Poleroone, with monsieur de Lionne's acknowledgment of the defect of his memory, and that he ought to have inserted it in the paper that contained the alternative, with all the excuses he made for it, was received; which seemed to put an end to all hopes of peace. The king was highly incensed, and looked upon it as an affront contrived by both parties to amuse him. Every body concluded, that there could be no safety in depending upon any thing that could be offered from France, when they could never be without as reasonable a pretence as they had at present, to disclaim or avoid any concession they had made in writing:—that the particular demanded could never be consented

The king highly offended.

to by his majesty, without swerving from the common rules of justice, and the violation of his own honour:—that though it did not immediately concern his majesty in his own interest and the interest of the crown, which was an argument used in France for his majesty's not insisting upon it, it was however an unquestionable and a very considerable interest of his subjects, which he was in justice bound to maintain, and which in justice he had no power to release. It was an interest so valuable, that Cromwell had insisted upon it so resolutely, that they had consented to it as a principal article of the peace he made with them; by which he gained great reputation with the people. And his majesty had thought himself so much concerned in honour not to suffer his subjects to be deprived of that right which Cromwell had vindicated, (though by his death it came not to be executed,) that he would never consent to the treaty that had been concluded since his happy return, until they consented to and renewed the same article, and promised the redelivery of the said island to the English by such a day: and their having broken their faith in not delivering it according to the last treaty, and with very offensive circumstances, his majesty had declared to be a principal cause of the war, and made them unquestionably to appear the first aggressor. And in that respect, his honour could not receive a more mortal wound than in releasing that article, which concerned the estates of other men, and would in the opinion of the world draw the guilt of the war upon himself, or, which would be as bad, the reproach of having purchased a peace upon very dishonourable 1667.

1667. conditions to himself, at the charge and with the estates of his subjects.

And resolves to continue the war.

Upon the whole, the king resolved rather to undergo the hazard of the war, upon what disadvantage soever, than to consent to a proposition so dishonourable: and a despatch was presently sent to the earl of St. Alban's, with a very lively resentment " of the indignity offered to the king in receding from what was offered by themselves, and in " asking what he was resolved never to grant." And all were enjoined to review all that had been resolved for the war, and to give the utmost advancement to it that was[y] possible: and without doubt, if Spain had yet put itself into any posture to defend itself against the power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any part towards the support of a common interest, the king would hardly have been persuaded to have hearkened more to any propositions from France.

New overtures from France.

Notwithstanding all this, new overtures and new importunities were sent from France. " It was " true, that the Dutch had always protested against " making a peace or consenting to a treaty without " the release of Poleroone; which his Christian ma- " jesty had consented to, and could not recede from " it without their consent, though the mention of it " had been unfortunately omitted by monsieur de " Lionne: but his majesty promised and engaged " his royal word, that when the treaty should be en- " tered into, he would use all his credit and author- " ity to persuade the States General to recede from

[y] was] could be

" their obstinacy, and to make no alteration in the 1667.
" last treaty; but that all things should[z] remain as
" had been settled by it. And if he could not pre-
" vail with them to satisfy him therein, as he did
" fear that there was upon their particular interest
" some peremptory resolution fixed, from whence
" they would not be removed as to the main; yet in
" that case he did in no degree despair of obliging
" them to give a considerable sum of money for re-
" compense thereof, which he desired might satisfy
" the king, who would find himself at much ease by
" it. And if the commissioners once met and the
" treaty was begun, it would not be dissolved before
" a peace should be concluded; and that the French
" ambassadors, as soon as they met, should propose
" a cessation from all acts of hostility, which he
" expected should be as soon yielded to as proposed;
" and that already they had promised that their
" fleet should remain in their harbours till the mid-
" dle of May, before which time the treaty might
" well begin." And from the present time the French king promised, " that no hostile act should
" be done by him, and that his own fleet should not
" stir out of their port; and that his ambassadors
" should in all things behave themselves as his ma-
" jesty could wish, that particular only of Poleroone
" excepted[a], in which they should do as he had
" promised."

The king had by this time had recourse to all the inventions and devices, which might yet enable him to set out a fleet that might be able to fight the enemy; but in vain. He found all men of the

[z] should] to [a] excepted] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. same opinion they had been, that he must be upon the defensive in the manner expressed before, and expect the end of the summer before he could draw his ships together; and that there was an universal impatience for peace: so that when the warmth of his indignation was a little remitted, he was very willing to hear any thing that might revive the hope of a treaty, when this last overture from Paris arrived; upon which he presently convened the council, that he might take a speedy resolution what he was to do, for he saw many conveniences might be lost by the not speedily entering upon the treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The protestation and promise of France to assist in all things, that particular only excepted, for his majesty's service, and his promise even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real: the hope of recompense for it seemed little inferior to the redelivery of the island, and was an equal satisfaction to his majesty's honour. And it seemed the more probable to be compassed, in that De Wit in his private conference with the baron of Isola, in all his passion, in which he would not endure the mention of the delivery of Poleroone, and said, "that the States would "perish before they would part with it," concluded, "that he would not say, that they might not be per-"suaded to give some recompense for it."

And many believed that the East India company, which was only concerned in the interest of it, would choose rather to receive a good recompense than the island itself, which was a barren, sandy soil, which yielded no fruit, but only nutmegs, which was the sole commodity it bore, and is a commodity of great value. But when they were bound to give it

up to Cromwell, there had been immediate order sent to cut down all the trees upon the island; which order would be now again repeated: and so no less than seven years must expire before any fruit could be expected from thence. And it was so far from any English factory, and so near to the Dutch, that they would easily possess themselves of it again when they had a mind to it. And therefore if the company might have money, or such a quantity of nutmegs delivered to them, as might, besides being enough for the expense of England, bear a part in the foreign trade, (which had been mentioned by some merchants of that company,) it might be reasonably preferable to the island. 1667.

Whatsoever resolution should in the end be taken, this expedient of recompense gave a hint to a counsel that had not been yet thought of, which was to leave the business of Poleroone to the sole managery of the East India company, who should be advised to choose some members of their own, who should go over with the ambassadors, and receive all advice and assistance from them in the conduct of their pretences: and they would be the witnesses of what the king insisted upon on their behalf; and would likewise judge, if nothing prevented the peace but that interest, how far it should be insisted on.

The East India company was sent for, and were told "that the king had hope of a treaty for peace, "which he presumed would be welcome to them: "he heard that the greatest difficulty and obstruc- "tion that was like to arise would be concerning "their interest in the island of Poleroone, which he "was resolved never to abandon. But because he "heard likewise that the Dutch did intend to offer

The East India company consulted in relation to Poleroone.

1667. " a recompense rather than to restore the place, and " that the recompense might be such as might be as " agreeable to them, (of which he would not take " upon him to judge, but leave it entirely to them- " selves,) he had given them this timely notice of " it, that they might bethink themselves what was " fit for them to do, upon a prospect of all that might " probably occur; and that they might make choice " of such persons amongst themselves, who best un- " derstood their affairs, to the end that when the " treaty should be agreed upon and the place ap- " pointed, and his majesty had resolved what am- " bassadors he would send, (of all which they should " have seasonable notice,) those persons elected by " them as their commissioners might [b] go over with " the ambassadors; that when that point came into " debate, and the Dutch should call some of their " East India company to inform them, they likewise " might be ready to advertise his ambassadors of " whatsoever might advance their pretences: and " if a recompense was to be considered, they might " enter into that consultation with the other depu- " ties; and that they should be sure to receive all " the advice and assistance from his ambassadors, " that they could require or stand in need of." The company received this information from his majesty with all demonstration of duty and submission, giving humble thanks for his majesty's bounty and care of their interest; and said, " they would not fail to " make choice of a committee to attend the am- " bassadors, when they should know it would be " seasonable."

The king thought it now time to receive the

[b] might] *Omitted in MS.*

advice of his whole council-board upon this affair, which had been hitherto only debated before the committee for foreign affairs: and so they[c] being assembled, an account was given of all that had passed, with all its circumstances, in France and in Holland, by the baron of Isola and by the Swedes ambassadors. And his majesty said thereupon, "that "he had yet taken no resolution, and had been so "provoked by the miscarriage of France, that he "would have been glad to have put himself into a "better posture, and not thought further of a treaty, "till there should appear a more favourable con-"juncture: but they now understood as much as he "did, with reference to the state he was in both at "home and abroad, and that he was resolved to "follow their advice." 1667. The king consults the privy-council upon the overtures made by France;

All the objections which had been foreseen before, and the considerations thereupon, were renewed and again debated: and in the end there was a general concurrence, "that his majesty should embrace the "opportunity of a treaty; and if a reasonable peace "could be obtained, it would be very grateful to "the whole kingdom, that was weary of the war; "and that his majesty should lose no time in re-"turning such a despatch to Paris, as might bring "on the treaty." And some of the lords proceeded so far as to declare, "that the consideration of "Poleroone was not of that importance, nor could "be thought so by the East India company them-"selves, as that the insisting upon it should deprive "the kingdom of a peace that was so necessary for "it." But the king thought the entering upon that Which advises him to enter upon the treaty.

[c] they] *Not in MS.*

1667. argument was not yet seasonable: but he gave order for the despatch to be prepared for France.

There were two material points not yet determined, the first of which was fit to be inserted into the present despatch; which was the nomination of the place where the treaty should be. Some were of opinion, "that his majesty should lay[d] hold of "the overture that had been made from France, "which was since likewise confirmed by Holland, "that the treaty should be at Dover:" but they changed their minds, when they well considered that the same objections would be naturally made against Dover on the king's behalf, that had been made by the Dutch against the Hague; and that the people there, and less at Canterbury, were not incapable of any impressions, which the numerous trains of the French and the Dutch would be ready to imprint in them. In a word, there was much more fit to be considered upon that point, than is fit to be remembered. The conclusion was, "that Breda, "which had been offered by the Dutch, should be the "place the king would accept;" which was added to the despatch for Paris, and presently sent away.

Breda agreed to be the place of treating.

The other matter undetermined of was the choice of ambassadors, which had been never entered upon. The king had spoken with the chancellor, what persons would be fit to be employed in that negociation, when the time should be ripe for it; and took notice, as he did frequently, of the small choice he had of men well acquainted with business of that nature: upon which he had named to the king the lord Hollis, who had been lately ambassador in

[d] lay] *Omitted in MS.*

France, and was in all respects equal to any business, and Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber, who had shewed so great abilities in his late negociation in Sweden. Upon the naming of whom, his majesty said, "they were both very fit, and that he "would think of no other:" so that when all other particulars were adjusted with reference to the treaty, the king, without further consulting it, declared, "that he intended to send those two his am- "bassadors for the treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the employment. And when his majesty told them of it, he bade them repair to the chancellor for their instructions. And this gave new thoughts of heart to the lord Arlington, who had designed himself and sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly made a privy counsellor and controller of the household upon the death of sir Hugh Pollard, for the performance of that service; and thought himself the better qualified for it by his late alliance in Holland, by his marriage with the daughter of monsieur Beverwaert, a natural son of prince Maurice. And this disappointment went very near him; though the other had not the least thought that he had any such thing in his heart, but advised it purely as they were [e] the fittest persons who could be thought of; and their abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this negociation. 1667. Lord Hollis and Mr. Henry Coventry appointed plenipotentiaries.

The Swedish ambassadors, who were the only mediators, prepared likewise to go to the treaty, having agreed with the king, "that if the treaty "should not produce a peace," of which they who The Swedish ambassadors mediators.

[e] they were] *Not in MS.*

1667. hoped most were not confident, "that crown would "immediately declare for the king, and unite itself "to his interest both against the Dutch and the "French;" their army at that time, being held the best in Europe, under the command of their general Wrangel, being near the States' dominions. And for the better confirming them in that disposition, the chancellor had brought the baron of Isola to a conference with the Swedes ambassadors, and begun that treaty between them which was shortly after finished, and known by the style of the Triple Alliance, that was the first act that detached the Swede from France: and for the present the king himself found means to supply the crown of Sweden with a sum of money for the support of their army.

All things being thus adjusted, and the place of the treaty being on all hands agreed to be Breda, and notice being sent from Paris, "that their am-"bassadors were departed from thence;" the king thought himself as much concerned in the expedition in respect of the cessation, which the French promised to obtain in the very entrance into the treaty; and it was now the month of May. And so his ambassadors were despatched, and arrived there before the middle of that month, with an equipage worthy their master who sent them.

The death of the earl of Southampton.

There happened at this time an accident that made a fatal breach into the chancellor's fortune, with a gap wide enough to let in all that ruin which soon after was poured upon him. The earl of Southampton, the treasurer, with whom he had an entire fast friendship, and who, when they were together, had credit enough with the king and at the board to prevent, at least to defer, any very unrea-

sonable resolution, was now ready to expire with the stone; a disease that had kept him in great pain many months, and for which he had sent to Paris for a surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the physicians not agreeing what the disease was: so that at last he grew too weak to apply that remedy. They who had with so much industry, and as they thought certainty, prevailed with the king at Oxford to have removed him from that office, had never since intermitted the pursuing the design, and persuaded his majesty, "that his service had suffered exceedingly by his "receding from his purpose;" and did not think their triumph notorious enough, if they suffered him to die in the office: insomuch as when he grew so weak, that it is true he could not sign any orders with his hand, which was four or five days before his death, they had again persuaded the king to send for the staff. But the chancellor again prevailed with him not to do so ungracious an act to a servant who had served him and his father so long and so eminently, to so little purpose as the ravishing an office unseasonably, which must within five or six days fall into his hands, as it did within less time, by his death. 1667.

His character.

He was a person of extraordinary parts, of faculties very discerning and a judgment very profound, great eloquence in his delivery, without the least affectation of words, for he always spake best on the sudden. In the beginning of the troubles, he was looked upon amongst those lords who were least inclined to the court, and so most acceptable to the people: he was in truth not obliged by the court, and thought himself oppressed by it, which his great

1667. spirit could not bear; and so he had for some years forbore to be much seen there, which was imputed to a habit of melancholy, to which he was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his countenance than in his conversation, which to those with whom he was acquainted was very cheerful.

The great friendship that had been between their fathers made many believe, that there was a confidence between the earl of Essex and him; which was true to that degree as could be between men of so different natures and understandings. And when they came to the parliament in the year 1640, they appeared both unsatisfied with the prudence and politics of the court, and were not reserved in declaring it, when the great officers were called in question for great transgressions in their several administrations: but in the prosecution there was great difference in their passions and their ends. The earl of Essex was a great lover of justice, and could not have been tempted to consent to the oppression of an innocent man: but in the discerning the several species of guilt, and in the proportioning the degrees of punishment to the degree of guilt, he had no faculties or measure of judging; nor was above the temptation of general prejudice, and it may be of particular disobligations and resentments, which proceeded from the weakness of his judgment, not the malice of his nature. The earl of Southampton was not only an exact observer of justice, but so clear-sighted a discerner of all the circumstances which might disguise it, that no false or fraudulent colour could impose upon him; and of so sincere and impartial a judgment, that no prejudice to the person of any man made him less awake to his cause; but

believed that there is "aliquid et in hostem nefas," and that a very ill man might be very unjustly dealt with. 1667.

This difference of faculties divided them quickly in the progress of those businesses, in the beginning whereof they were both of one mind. They both thought the crown had committed great excesses in the exercise of its power, which the one thought could not be otherwise prevented, than by its[f] being deprived of it: the consequence whereof the other too well understood, and that the absolute taking away that power that might do hurt, would likewise take away some of that which was necessary for the doing good; and that a monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental right, without such a lasting wound to monarchy itself, that they who have most shelter from it and stand nearest to it, the nobility, could not[g] continue long in their native strength, if the crown received a maim. Which if the earl of Essex had comprehended, who set as great a price upon nobility as any man living did, he could never have been wrought upon to have contributed to his own undoing; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the king were undone. So they were both satisfied that the earl of Strafford had countenanced some high proceedings, which could not be supported by any rules of justice, though the policy of Ireland, and the constant course observed in the government of that kingdom[h], might have excused and justified many of the high proceedings with which he was reproached:

[f] its] *Not in MS.*
[g] not] *Omitted in MS.*
[h] that kingdom] Ireland

1667. and they who had now the advantage-ground, by being thought to be most solicitous for the liberty of the subject, and most vigilant that the same outrages might not be transplanted out of the other kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the strongest influence upon the counsels of England as well as governor of Ireland. Then he had declared himself so averse and irreconcileable to the sedition and rebellion of the Scots, that the whole nation had contracted so great an animosity against him, that less than his life could not secure them from the fears they had conceived of him: and this fury of theirs met with a full concurrence from those of the English, who could not compass their own ends without their help. And this combination too soon drew the earl of Essex, who had none of their ends, into their party, to satisfy his pride and his passion, in removing a man who seemed to have no regard for him; for the stories, which were then made of disobligations from the earl of Strafford towards the earl of Clanrickard, were without any foundation of truth.

The earl of Southampton, who had nothing of obligation, and somewhat of prejudice to some high acts of power which had been exercised by the earl of Strafford, was not unwilling that they should be so far looked into and examined, as might raise more caution and apprehension in men of great authority of the consequence of such excesses. But when he discerned irregular ways entered into to punish those irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill consequences, and that they intended to compound one great crime out of several smaller trespasses, and, to use their own style, to

complicate a treason out of misdemeanours, and so to take away his life for what he might be fined and imprisoned; he first dissuaded and then abhorred that exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when he found it passionately and maliciously resolved by a direct combination. 1667.

From this time he and the earl of Essex were perfectly divided and separated, and seldom afterwards concurred in the same opinion: but as he worthily and bravely stood in the gap in the defence of that great man's life, so he did afterwards oppose all those invasions, which were every day made by the house of commons upon the rights of the crown, or the privileges of the peers, which the lords were willing to sacrifice to the useful humour of the other. And by this means, whilst most of the king's servants listed themselves with the conspirators in promoting all things which were ingrateful to him, this lord, who had no relation to his service, was looked upon as a courtier; and by the strength of his reason gave such a check to their proceedings, that he became little less odious to them than the court itself; and so much the more odious, because as he was superior to their temptations, so his unquestionable integrity was out of their reach, and made him contemn their power as much as their malice.

He had all the detestation imaginable of the civil war, and discerned the dismal effects it would produce, more than most other men, which made him do all he could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, he made no scruple how to dispose of himself, but frankly declared for the king, who had a just sense of the service he had done him, and

1667. made him then both of his privy-council and gentleman of his bedchamber, without the least application or desire of his, and when most of those who were under both those relations had chosen, as the much stronger, the rebels' side: and his receiving those obligations at that present was known to proceed more from his duty than his ambition. He had all the fidelity that God requires, and all the affection to the person of the king that his duty suggested to him was due, without any reverence for or compliance with his infirmities or weakness; which made him many times uneasy to the king, especially in all consultations towards peace, in which he was always desirous that his majety should yield more than he was inclined to do.

He was in his nature melancholic, and reserved in his conversation; except towards those with whom he was very well acquainted; with whom he was not only cheerful, but upon occasion light and pleasant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch ease to himself: yet as no man had a quicker apprehension or solider judgment in business of all kinds, so, when it had a hopeful prospect, no man could keep his mind longer bent, and take more pains in it. In the treaty at Uxbridge, which was a continued fatigue of twenty days, he never slept four hours in a night, who had never used to allow himself less than ten, and at the end of the treaty was much more vigorous than in the beginning; which made the chancellor to tell the king when they returned to Oxford, "that if he would have "the earl of Southampton in good health and good "humour, he must give him good store of business "to do."

His person was of a small stature; his courage, as all his other faculties, very great; having no sign of fear or sense of danger, when he was in a place where he ought to be found. When the king had withdrawn himself from Oxford in order to his escape to the Scotch army, and Fairfax had brought his army before the town; in some debate at the council-board, there being some mention of prince Rupert with reference to his dignity in a large degree above all of the nobility, the earl of Southampton, who never used to speak indecently, used some expressions, which, being unfaithfully reported to the prince, his highness interpreted to be disrespectful towards him: whereupon he sent the lord Gerard to expostulate with him. To whom the earl without any apology related the words he had used; which being reported by him again to the prince, though they were not the same which he had been informed, yet he was not so well satisfied with them, but that he sent the same lord to him again, to tell him, "that his highness expected other sa- "tisfaction from him, and expected to meet him "with his sword in his hand, and desired it might "be as soon as he could, lest it might be pre- "vented." 1667.

The earl appointed the next morning, at a place well known; and being asked "what weapon he "chose," he said, "that he had no horse fit for such "a service, nor knew where suddenly to get one; "and that he knew himself too weak to close with "the prince: and therefore he hoped his highness "would excuse him, if he made choice of such wea- "pons as he could best use; and therefore he re- "solved to fight on foot with a case of pistols only;"

1667. which the prince willingly consented to. And without doubt they had met the next morning, the earl having chosen sir George Villiers for his second; but that the lord Gerard's coming to the earl so often, with whom he had no acquaintance, had been so much observed, that some of the lords who had been present at the debate at the board, and heard some replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill offices had been done, watched them both so narrowly, and caused the town-gates to be shut, that they [i] discovered enough, notwithstanding the denial of both parties, to prevent their meeting; and afterwards interposed till a reconciliation was made: and the prince ever afterwards had a good respect for the earl.

After the murder of the king, the earl of Southampton remained in his own house, without the least application to those powers which had made themselves so terrible, and which seemed to resolve to root out the whole party as well as the royal family; and would not receive a civility from any of them: and when Cromwell was near his house in the country, upon the marriage of his son in those parts, and had a purpose to have made a visit to him; upon a private notice thereof, he immediately removed to another house at a greater distance. He sent frequently some trusty person to the king with such presents of money, as he could receive out of the fortune they had left to him, which was scarce enough to support him in that retirement: and after the battle of Worcester, when the rebels had set a price upon the king's head, and denounced the most

[i] that they] *Omitted in MS.*

terrible judgment upon any person[k], and his posterity, that should presume to give any shelter or assistance to Charles Stuart towards his escape; he sent a faithful servant to all those persons, who in respect of their fidelity and activity were most like to be trusted upon such an occasion, that they should advertise the king, "that he would most "willingly receive him into his house, and provide "a ship for his escape." And his majesty received this advertisement from him the day before he was ready to embark in a small vessel prepared for him in Sussex; which his majesty always remembered as a worthy testimony of his affection and courage in so general a consternation. And the earl was used to say, "that after that miraculous escape, how "dismal soever the prospect was, he had still a con-"fidence of his majesty's restoration." 1667.

His own natural disposition inclined to melancholic; and his retirement from all conversation, in which he might have given some vent to his own thoughts, with the discontinuance of all those bodily exercises and recreations to which he had been accustomed, brought many diseases upon him, which made his life less pleasant to him; so that from the time of the king's return, between the gout and the stone, he underwent great affliction. Yet upon the happy return of his majesty he seemed to recover great vigour of mind, and undertook the charge of high treasurer with much alacrity and industry, as long as he had any hope to get a revenue settled proportionable to the expense of the crown, (towards which his interest and authority and counsel contri-

[k] any person] whomsoever

1667. buted very much,) or to reduce the expense of the court within the limits of the revenue. But when he discerned that the last did and would still make the former impossible, (upon which he made as frequent and lively representations as he thought himself obliged to do,) and when he saw irregularities and excesses to abound, and to overflow all the banks which should restrain them; he grew more dispirited, and weary of that province, which exposed him to the reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which supplied him not with authority to prevent them. And he had then withdrawn from the burden, which he infinitely desired to be eased of, but out of conscience of his duty to the king, who he knew would suffer in it; and that the people who knew his affections very well, and already opened their mouths wide against the license of the court, would believe it worse and incurable if he quitted the station he was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him still to undergo that burden, even when he knew that they who enjoyed the benefit of it were as weary that he should be disquieted with it.

He was a man of great and exemplary virtue and piety, and very regular in his devotions; yet was not generally believed by the bishops to have an affection keen enough for the government of the church, because he was willing and desirous, that somewhat more might have been done to gratify the presbyterians than they thought just. But the truth is; he had a perfect detestation of all the presbyterian principles, nor had ever had any conversation with their persons, having during all those wicked times strictly observed the devotions prescribed by the church of

England; in the performance whereof he had always an orthodox chaplain, one of those[l] deprived of their estates by that government, which disposed of the church as well as of the state. But it is very true, that upon the observation of the great power and authority which the presbyterians usurped and were possessed of, even when Cromwell did all he could to divest them of it, and applied all his interest to oppress or suppress them, insomuch as they did often give a check to and divert many of his designs; he did believe that their numbers and their credit had been much greater than in truth they were[m]. And then some persons, who had credit with him by being thought to have an equal aversion from them, persuaded him to believe, that they would be satisfied with very easy concessions, which would bring no prejudice or inconvenience to the church. And this imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wish that there might be some indulgence towards them. But that which had the strongest influence upon him, and which made him less apprehensive of the venom of any other sect, was the extreme jealousy he had of the power and malignity of the Roman catholics; whose behaviour from the time of the suppression of the regal power, and more scandalously at and from the time of the murder of the king, had very much irreconciled him towards them: and he did believe, that the king and the duke of York had a better opinion of their fidelity, and less jealousy of their affections, than they deserved; and so thought there could not be too great an union of all other interests to con- 1667.

[l] one of those] *Omitted in MS.*

[m] they were] it was

1667. trol the exorbitance of that. And upon this argument, with his private friends, he was more passionate than in any other.

He had a marvellous zeal and affection for the royal family; insomuch as the two sons of the duke of York falling both into distempers, (of which they both shortly after died,) very few days before his death, he was so marvellously affected with it, that many believed the trouble of it, or a presage what might befall the kingdom by it, hastened his death some hours: and in the agony of death, the very morning he died, he sent to know how they did; and seemed to receive some relief, when the messenger returned with the news, that they were both alive and in some degree mended.

The king resolves to put the treasury into commission.

The next day after his death, which was about the end of May, the king called the chancellor into his closet; and, the duke of York being only present, told him, "that he could think of no man fit "to be treasurer, and therefore resolved, as he had "long done, to put that office into commission;" and then asked, "who should be commissioners:" to which he answered, "the business would be much "better done by a single officer, if he could think "of a fit one; for commissioners never had, never "would do, that business well." The duke of York said, "that he believed it would be best done by "commission; it had been so managed during all "the ill times," (for from the beginning of the troubles there had been no treasurer:) "and he had ob- "served, (and the king found the benefit of it,) that "though sir William Compton was an extraordinary "person, and better qualified than most men for "that charge, yet since his decease, that his majesty

" had put the office of the ordnance under the go- 1667.
" vernment of commissioners, it was in much better
" order, and the king was better served there than
" he had ever been; and he believed he would be
" so likewise in the office of the treasury, if fit per-
" sons were chosen for it, who might have nothing
" else to do." And the king seemed to be of the same mind.

The chancellor replied, " that he was very sorry, The chancellor advises him against it.
" that they were both so much delighted with the
" function of commissioners, which were more suit-
" able to the modelling a commonwealth, than for
" the support of monarchy: that during the late
" troubles, whilst the parliament exercised the go-
" vernment, they reduced it as fast as they could to
" the form of a commonwealth; and then no ques-
" tion the putting the treasury into the hands of
" commissioners was much more suitable to the rest
" of the model, than it could be under a single per-
" son. Besides, having no revenue of their own, but
" being to raise one according to their inventions
" and proportionable to their own occasions, it could
" never be well collected or ordered by old officers,
" who were obliged to forms which would not be
" agreeable to their necessary transactions; so that
" new ministers were to be made for new employ-
" ments, who might be obliged punctually to observe
" their new orders, without any superiority over
" each other, but a joint obedience to the supreme
" authority. But when Cromwell assumed the en-
" tire government into his own hands, he cancelled
" all those republican rules and forms, and appointed
" inferior persons to several functions, and reserved
" the whole disposition to himself, and was his own

1667. " high treasurer: and it was well known that he
" resolved, as soon as he should be able to reduce
" things to the forms he intended, to cancel all those
" commissions, and invest single persons in the go-
" vernment of those provinces."

He said, " he would not take upon him to say
" any thing of the office of the ordnance, where the
" commissioners were his friends; only he might
" say, that that kind of administration had not been
" yet long enough known to have a good judgment
" made of it: however, that it was of so different a
" nature from the office of the treasury, that no ob-
" servation of the one could be applied to the other.
" The ordnance was conversant only with smiths
" and carpenters, and other artificers and handi-
" craftsmen, with whom all their transactions were:
" whereas the treasury had much to do with the no-
" bility and chief gentry of the kingdom; must have
" often recourse to the king himself for his parti-
" cular directions, to the privy-council for their as-
" sistance and advice, to the judges for their reso-
" lutions in matters of difficulty; and if the ministers
" of it were not of that quality and degree, that
" they might have free recourse to all those, and find
" respect from them, his majesty's service would
" notoriously suffer. And that the white staff itself,
" in the hands of a person esteemed, did more to
" the bringing in several branches of the revenue,
" by the obedience and reverence all officers paid to
" it, than any orders from commissioners could do:
" and that how mean an opinion soever some men
" had of the faculties of the late excellent officer for
" that administration, his majesty would find by ex-
" perience, that the vast sums of money, which he

"had borrowed in these late years, had been in 1667.
"a great measure procured upon the general confi-
"dence all men had in the honour and justice of
"the treasurer; and that the credit of commission-
"ers would never be able to supply such necessi-
"ties."

The king said, "he was not at all of his opinion,
"and doubted not his business would be much bet-
"ter done by commissioners; and therefore he
"should speak to the nomination of those, since he
"was sure he could propose no single person fit for
"it." To which the chancellor answered, "that he
"thought it much harder to find a worthy man, who
"would be persuaded to accept it in the disorder in
"which his affairs were, than a man who might be
"very fit for it: and that if that subject who had
"the greatest fortune in England and the most ge-
"neral reputation would receive it, his majesty
"would be no loser in conferring it on such a one;
"and till such a one might be found, he might put
"it into commission. But," he said, "he perceived
"well, that he would not approve the old course in
"the choice of commissioners; who had always
"been the keeper of the great seal, and the two se-
"cretaries of state, and two other of the principal
"persons of the council, besides the chancellor of
"the exchequer, who used to be the sole person of
"the quorum."

Neither [n] the king nor duke seemed to like any of those; and the chancellor plainly discerned from the beginning that they were resolved upon the persons, though his opinion was asked: and the

[n] Neither] *Not in MS.*

1667. king said, "he would choose such persons, whether "privy counsellors or not, who might have nothing "else to do, and were rough and ill-natured men, "not to be moved with civilities or importunities "in the payment of money; but would [o] apply it all "to his present necessities, till some new supplies "might be gotten for the payment of those debts, "which were first necessary to be paid. That he, "the chancellor, had so much business already upon "his hands, that he could not attend this other; "and the secretaries had enough to do: so he "would have none of those." And then he named sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly of the council and controller of the house, and sir William Coventry; and said, "he did not think there should be "many:" and the duke then named sir John Duncombe, as a man of whom he had heard well, and every body knew he was intimate with sir William Coventry. The king said, "he thought they three "would be enough, and that a greater number "would but make the despatch of all business the "more slow."

The chancellor said, "he doubted those persons "would not have credit and authority enough to go "through the necessary affairs of that province; "that for his own part, he was not desirous to med-"dle in it; he had indeed too much business to do: "that he had no objection [p] to the three persons "named, but that he thought them not known and "esteemed enough for that employment; and that "it would be very incongruous to bring sir John "Duncombe, who was a private country gentleman,

[o] would] *Not in MS.*

[p] objection] exception

" and utterly unacquainted with business of that 1667.
" nature, to sit in equal authority with privy coun-
" sellors, and in affairs which would be often de-
" bated at the council-table, where he could not be
" present." And he put his majesty in mind[q], that
" he must put the lord Ashley out of his office of
" chancellor of the exchequer, if he did not make him
" commissioner of the treasury, and of the quorum :"
and concluded, " that if he did not name the
" general, and some other person that might give
" some lustre to the others, the work would not be
" done as it ought to be; for many persons would
" be sometimes obliged to attend upon the treasury,
" who would not think those gentlemen enough su-
" perior to them, how qualified soever."

The king said, " he could easily provide against
" the exception to sir John Duncombe, by making
" him a privy counsellor; and he did not care if he
" added the general to them." The lord Ashley gave him some trouble, and he said enough to make it manifest that he thought him not fit to be amongst them: yet he knew not how to put him out of his place; but gave direction for preparing the commission for the treasury to the persons named before, and made the lord Ashley only one of the commissioners, and a major part to make a quorum; which would quickly bring the government of the whole business into the hands of those three who were designed for it. And Ashley rather chose to be degraded, than to dispute it.

Commissioners of the treasury appointed.

The king expected, that as soon as the ambassadors should meet at the Hague, a cessation would

Negotiations at Breda.

[q] in mind] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. be the first thing that would be agreed upon: and the French ambassadors did in the first place propose it, and in such a manner, as made it evident that they depended upon it as a thing resolved upon; and their master had with their consent dismissed his own fleet, and theirs was yet in their ports. Nor did the Dutch seem to refuse it; but answered, "that the adjusting all things in order "to a cessation would require as much time as "would serve to finish the treaty, considering all "material points were upon the matter already "stated and agreed upon, the king having already "chosen the alternative:" and notwithstanding all the earnestness used by the French ambassadors, no other answer could be obtained as to a cessation; which, together with the supercilious behaviour of the commissioners from Holland, made it apparent, that they had no other mind at that time to peace, than as they were compelled to it by France, that was impatient to have it concluded. They would not hear any mention for the redelivery of Pole-roone, "which," they said, "the king of France had "promised should not be demanded;" and as little for any recompense in money; nor would suffer the merchant-deputies from the English company to go to Amsterdam, to confer with the East India company there for any composition. It quickly appeared, that they had revenge in their hearts for their last year's affront and damage at the Flie; and De Wit had often said, "that before any peace they "would leave some such mark of their having been "upon the English coast, as the English had left "of their having been upon that of Holland."

The Dutch defer agreeing to a cessation.

After the treaty was entered into, about the be-

ginning of June, De Ruyter came with the fleet out of the Wierings, and joining with the rest from the Texel sailed for the coast of England: and having a fair wind, stood for the river of Thames; which put the county of Kent into such an alarm, that all near the sea left their houses and fled into the country. The earl of Winchelsea, who was lord lieutenant of that county, was at that time ambassador at Constantinople, and the deputy lieutenants had all equal authority: so that no man had power to command in that large county in so general a distraction. Hereupon the king sent down lieutenant general Middleton with commission to draw all the train bands together, and to command all the forces that could be raised: and he immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the train bands of horse and foot to Rochester; and other troops resorted to him from the neighbour counties, all the people expressing a great alacrity in being commanded by him. 1667.

The attempts of the Dutch upon Sheerness and Chatham.

There had been enough discourse all that year of erecting a fort at Sheerness for the defence of the river: and the king had made two journeys thither in the winter, and had given such orders to the commissioners of the ordnance for the overseeing and finishing the fortifications, that every body believed that work done; it having been the principal defence and provision directed and depended upon, (as hath been said before,) when the resolution had been taken for the standing only upon the defence for this summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a company or two of very good soldiers there under

1667. excellent officers; but the fortifications were[r] so weak and unfinished, and all other provisions so entirely wanting, that the Dutch fleet no sooner approached within a distance, but with their cannon they beat all the works flat, and drove all the men from the ground: which as soon as they had done, with their boats they landed men, and seemed resolved to fortify and keep it.

This put the country into a flame, and the news of it exceedingly disturbed the king. He knew the consequence of the place, and how easily it might have been secured, and was the more troubled that it had been neglected: and with what loss soever, it must be presently recovered out of those hands. The general was immediately ordered to march to Chatham, for the security of the navy, with such troops of horse and foot as could be presently drawn together out of the guards and from the neighbour counties; and the city appeared very forward to send such regiments of their train bands as should be required. When the general came to Chatham, he found Middleton in so good a posture, and so good a body of men, that he had no apprehension of any attempt the Dutch could make at land; and he writ very cheerful and confident letters to the king and the duke, "that if the enemy should make "any attempt, which he believed they durst not do, "they would repent it. That he had put a chain "over the river, which would hinder them from "coming up: and if they should adventure to land "any where, he would quickly beat them to their "ships;" as no doubt he had been very well able to have done.

[r] were] *Not in MS.*

There was indeed no danger of their landing, and they were too wise to think of it: their business was in an element they had more confidence in and more power upon. They had good intelligence how loosely all things were left in the river: and therefore, as soon as the tide came to help them, they stood full up[s] the river, without any consideration of the chain, which their ships immediately brake in pieces, and passed without the least pause; there being either no such device to be made that can obstruct such an enterprise, or that which was made was so weak, that it was of no signification, but to raise an unseasonable confidence in unskilful men, that being disappointed must increase the confusion, as it did. For all men were so confounded to see the Dutch fleet advance over the chain, which they looked upon as a wall of brass, that they knew not what they were to do. 1667.

The general was of a constitution and temper so void of fear, that there could appear no signs of distraction in him: yet it was plain enough that he knew not what orders to give. There were two or three ships of the royal navy negligently, if not treacherously, left in the river, which might have been very easily drawn into safety, and could be of no imaginable use in the place where they then were: into one of those the general put himself, and invited the young gentlemen who were volunteers to accompany him; which they readily did in great numbers, only with pikes in their hands. But some of his friends whispered to him, "how unadvised "that resolution was, and how desperate, without

[s] up] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. "possibility of success, the whole fleet of the enemy "approaching as fast as the tide would enable them." And so he was prevailed with to put himself again on shore: which except he had done, both himself and two or three hundred gentlemen of the nobility and prime gentry of the kingdom had inevitably perished; for all those ships, and some merchantmen laden and ready to put to sea, were presently in a flame; the Dutch, knowing that they could not carry them off, giving order to burn them, the general standing upon the shore, and not knowing what remedy to apply to all this mischief. The people of Chatham, which is naturally an army of seamen and officers of the navy, who might and ought to have secured all those ships, which they had time enough to have done, were in distraction; their chief officers having applied all those boats and lighter vessels which should have towed up the ships, to carry away their own goods and household stuff, and given [t] what they left behind for lost. And without doubt, if the Dutch had prosecuted the present advantage they had, with that circumspection and courage that was necessary, they might have fired the royal navy at Chatham, and taken or destroyed all the ships which lay higher in the river, and so fully revenged themselves for what they had suffered at the Flie: but they thought they had done enough, and so made use of the ebb to carry them back again.

Great consternation in the city and court.

But the noise of this, and the flame of the ships which were burned, made it easily believed in the city of London, that the enemy had done all that

[t] given] gave

they conceived they might have done: they thought 1667.
that they were landed in many places, and that their fleet was come up as far as Greenwich. Nor was the confusion there greater than it was in the court itself: where they who had most advanced the war, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be against it, "as men who had no pub-"lic spirits, and were not solicitous for the honour "and glory of the nation;" and who had never spoken of the Dutch but with scorn and contempt, as a nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with; were now the most dejected men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at those who had advised the king to enter into that war, "which had already "consumed so many gallant men, and would pro-"bably ruin the kingdom," and wished "that a "peace, as the only hope, were made upon any "terms." In a word, the distraction and consternation was so great in court and city, as if the Dutch had not been only masters of the river, but had really landed an army of one hundred thousand men.

They who remember that conjuncture, and were then present in the galleries and privy lodgings at Whitehall, whither all the world flocked with equal liberty, can easily call to mind many instances of such wild despair and even ridiculous apprehensions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the least mention of them should remain: and if the king's and duke's personal composure had not restrained men from expressing their fears, there wanted not some who would have advised them to have left the city. And there was a lord, who would be thought one of the greatest soldiers in Europe, to whom the custody of the Tower was com-

1667. mitted, who lodging there only one night, declared, "that it was not tenable," and desired not to be charged with it: and thereupon many, who had carried their money and goods thither, removed them from thence that they might be further from the river. Nor did this unreasonable distemper pass away, when it was known that the Dutch fleet had not only left the river, but had taken away all their men from Sheerness, which was a manifestation very sufficient that they had no design upon the land: but there remained still such a chagrin in the minds of many, as if they would return again; in which they were confirmed, when they heard that they were still upon the coasts, and gave the same alarm now to Essex and Suffolk, as they had done to Kent, not without making a show as if they meant to attempt Harwich and Landguard[v] Point; which drew all the train bands of those counties to the sea-side, and the duke of York went thither to conduct them, if there should be occasion.

The king advised to convene the parliament during the prorogation.

In this perplexity the king was not at ease, and the less that every man took upon him to discourse to him of the distemper of the people generally over the kingdom, and to give him counsel what was to be done: and some men had advised him to call the parliament, which at the last session had been prorogued to the 20th of October; and it was now the middle of June. And surely most discerning men thought such a conjuncture so unseasonable for the council of a parliament, that if it had been then sitting, the most wholesome advice that could be given would be to separate them, till that occasion should be over, which could be best provided for by a more

[v] Landguard] Langhorn

contracted council: however, not knowing else what to do disposed the king to incline to that remedy. And it being a current opinion, or rather an unquestioned certainty, that upon a prorogation a parliament cannot be convened before the day, though upon an adjournment it may; they had brought Mr. Prynne privately to the king to satisfy him, "that "upon an extraordinary occasion he might do it;" and his judgment, which in all other cases he did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what he had a mind to. 1667.

In the beginning of the summer, when he had resolved to have no fleet at sea, there were many reasons which induced him to increase his forces at land. And that he might do it without jealousy of the people, he gave commission to three or four persons of the nobility, of great fortunes and good names, to raise regiments of foot, and to others for troops of horse; which was done at their own charge, and with wonderful expedition: and upon their first musters they all received one month's pay. Of these levies some were sent to repossess Sheerness, and extraordinary care was taken for the better advancement of those fortifications; and others were disposed to other posts upon the coast: but it was in view, that upon the expiration of that month, there must be new pay provided for those regiments and troops. Then the train bands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one month, which was as long as the law required: and now they required, or were said to require, to be relieved or dismissed, or that they might receive pay. There were discontents and emulations upon command; and they who had usually professed, "that they

1667. " would willingly serve the king in the offices of cor-
" porals or sergeants, whatever command they for-
" merly had," now disputed all the punctilios, and would not receive orders from any who had been formerly in inferior offices[u]. And all these waywardnesses were brought to the king, as matters of the highest consequence, who found difficulty enough in determining points of more importance.

The privy-council consulted about the reassembling the parliament.

They who for their own private designs desired that the parliament might meet, and cared not in what humour they met, urged the king very importunately, " that he would issue out a proclamation
" to summon them, as the only expedient to give
" himself ease, and to provide for all that was to be
" done:" and his majesty was most inclined to it, and in truth resolved it; though knowing that it was contrary to the sense of many, he resolved to debate it at the council. And there he told them,
" that they all saw the straits that he was in, the in-
" solence of the enemy, and the general distemper of
" the nation, which made it manifest that it was ne-
" cessary for him to have an army, that might be
" ready against any thing that might fall out. That
" he had no money, nor knew where to get any;
" nor could imagine any other way to provide
" against the mischiefs which were in view, than by
" calling the parliament to come together, of which
" or any other expedient he was willing to receive
" their advice;" expressing so much of his own sense, that it was plain enough that he thought that remedy the best that could be applied. Three or four of those who sat at the lower end of the board,

[u] offices] office

and who were well enough known to have given the counsel, and to be industrious that it might be followed, enlarged themselves in the debate, "that "the soldiers could not be kept together without "money; and they could not advise any other way "to get money but by the convening the parliament, "which they were confident might justly and regu- "larly be done:" and they desired, "that they who "were of another opinion would propose some other "way how the king might get money." 1667.

The chancellor discerned that the matter was already concluded, what advice soever should be given; and that the three new commissioners of the treasury, since they could find no way to procure money, had been very importunate with the king to try that expedient, and the more, because they well knew that he was against it, he having not been at all reserved upon several occasions in private discourses, when they were present, to give many reasons against it: and he knew as well, that they would gladly make any use of any expressions which might fall from him [x], when the remembrance might be applied to his prejudice. Yet his natural unwariness in such cases with reference to himself, when he thought his majesty's service concerned, to which he did really believe the present advice would produce much prejudice, prevailed with him to dissuade it.

The chancellor opposes it.

He said, "he knew well upon what disadvantage "he spake, and how unpopular a thing it was to "speak against the convening the parliament in "those straits, which seemed to be capable of no "other remedy: yet since he thought the remedy

[x] from him] from them

1667. " neither proper to the disease, nor that it could be
" applied in time, he could not concur with those
" who advised it. That most men who had any
" knowledge in the law did confess, that when the
" parliament stood prorogued to a certain day, the
" convening them upon a sooner day was very
" doubtful; and to him, upon all the disquisition he
" could make, it was very clear that it could not be
" done: and therefore he desired the judges might
" be consulted in that point, before any resolution
" should be taken. That the temper of both houses
" was well known; and that it could not but be
" presumed, that when they came together, the first
" debate they would fall upon would be of the man-
" ner of their coming together, and whether they
" were in a capacity to act; and he doubted there
" would be very few who would be forward to pass
" an act in a season, when the validity of it might
" be questioned by those who had no mind to pay
" any obedience to it. And then if their meeting
" were only to confer together upon all occurrences,
" and they might presume of liberty to say what
" they had a mind to say, without power to conclude
" any thing; it was well worth the considering, whe-
" ther, in so general a distemper such an assembly
" might not interrupt all other consultations and
" expedients, and yet propose none, and so increase
" the confusion. If the necessities were so urgent,
" that it was absolutely necessary that a parliament
" should be convened, and that which stood pro-
" rogued could not lawfully reassemble till the 20th
" of October, as he was confident it could not;
" there was no question to be made, but that the
" king might lawfully by his proclamation presently

" dissolve the prorogued parliament, and send out 1667.
" his writs to have a new parliament, which might
" regularly meet a month before the prorogued par-
" liament could come together." And many of the council were of opinion, that it would most conduce to his majesty's service to dissolve the one, and to call another parliament.

This was an advice they believed no man had the courage to make, and were sorry to find so many of the opinion, which they had rather should have appeared to be single. Many very warmly opposed this expedient, magnified the affections and inclinations of both houses: " and though there appeared
" some ill humour in them at their last being to-
" gether, and aversion to give any money for the
" present; yet in the main their affections were
" very right for church and state. And that the
" king was never to hope to see a parliament better
" constituted for his service, or so many of the mem-
" bers at his disposal: but that he must expect that
" the presbyterians would be chosen in all places,
" and that they who were most eminent now for op-
" posing all that he desired would be chosen, and all
" they who were most zealous for his service would
" be carefully excluded;" which was a fancy that sunk very deep in the minds of the bishops, though their best friends thought them like to find more friends and a stronger support in any, than they would have in that parliament. But the king quickly declared his confidence in the parliament that was prorogued, and his resolution not to dissolve it; which put an end to that debate. And the other was again resumed, " what the king was to do to-
" wards the raising money; or how he should be

1667. "able to maintain his army, if he should defer call-
"ing the parliament till the day upon which they
"were to assemble by the prorogation:" and all men were to restrain their discourse to that point.

The old argument, "that there could be no other "way found out," was renewed, and urged with more earnestness and confidence; and that they who were against it might be obliged to offer their advice what other course should be taken: and this was often demanded, in a manner not usual in that place, as a reproach to the persons. His majesty himself with some quickness was pleased to ask the chancellor, "what he did advise." To which he replied, "that if in truth what was proposed was in "the nature of it not practicable, or being practised "could not attain the effect proposed, it ought to "be laid aside, that men might unbiassed apply "their thoughts to find out some other expedient. "That he thought it very clear that the parlia-"ment could not assemble, though the proclamation "should issue out that very hour, within less than "twenty days; and that if they were met, and be-"lieved themselves lawfully qualified to grant a "supply of money, all men knew the formality of "that transaction would require so much time, that "money could not be raised time enough to raise an "army, or to maintain that part of it that was "raised, to prevent the landing of an enemy that "was already upon the coast, and (as many thought "or seemed to think) ready every day to make "their descent: and yet the sending out a procla-"mation for reassembling the parliament would in-"evitably put an end to all other counsels. That "for his part he did believe, that the Dutch had al-

" ready satisfied themselves in the affront they had[y] 1667.
" given, and could not be in any condition to pur-
" sue it, or have men enough on board to make a
" descent, without the king's having notice of it;
" and that the Dutch, without a conjunction with
" the French, had not strength for such an under-
" taking: and that the French had no such purpose
" his majesty had all the assurance possible, and that
" their fleet was gone far from the coast of Eng-
" land. And his majesty had reason to believe, that
" the present treaty would put an end to this war in
" a short time, though the power and artifice of De
" Wit had prevented a cessation.

" However, for the present support of those
" troops which were necessary to guard the coasts,
" since money could not be found for their present
" constant pay, without which free quarter could
" not be avoided; the only way that appeared to
" him to be practicable, and to avoid the last evil,
" would be, to write letters to the lieutenants and
" deputy lieutenants of those counties where the
" troops were obliged to remain, that they would
" cause provisions of all kinds to be brought into
" those quarters, that so the soldiers might not be
" compelled to straggle abroad to provide their own
" victual, which would end in the worst kind of
" free quarter: and that the like letters might be
" written to the neighbour counties, wherein no
" soldiers were quartered, to raise money by way of
" contribution or loan, which should be abated out
" of the next impositions, that so the troops might
" be enabled to stay and continue in their[z] posts

[y] had] had already [z] their] the

1667. "where they were, for defence of the kingdom; in "which those other counties had their share in the "benefit, and without which they must themselves "be exposed to the disorder of the soldiers, and "possibly to the invasion of the enemy."

It is very probable, that in the earnestness of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, he might use that expression, (which was afterwards objected against him,) "of raising con-"tribution as had been in the late civil war." Whatever it was he said, it was evident at the time that some men were well pleased with it, as somewhat they meant to make use of hereafter, in which his innocence made him little concerned.

The parliament summoned to meet.

The conclusion was, though many of the lords spake against it, and much the major part thought it not counsellable; that a proclamation should forthwith issue out, to require all the members of parliament to meet upon a day appointed in the beginning of August, to consult upon the great affairs of the kingdom: and this proclamation was presently issued accordingly.

The treaty advanced.

All this time the treaty proceeded at Breda, as fast as the insolent humour of the Dutch would suffer it. The French king declared himself much offended with their proceedings at sea: and his ambassadors spake so loud, that the States gave order to their deputies to bring the treaty to a conclusion; and sent such orders to De Ruyter, that there was no more hostility of any moment; only the fleet remained at sea, that it might appear they were masters of it. It cannot be denied that the French ambassadors, except in what referred to Poleroone, behaved themselves as candidly as could be wished:

and it is probable, that the same reason which moved the French to use all possible diligence to bring the treaty to an end, prevailed likewise with the Dutch to use all the delays they could, that it might be prolonged. 1667.

Though there was no war declared, it had been long notorious that Flanders would be invaded: and it was as notorious, that there was no provision made there towards a resistance or defence; the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, who came governor thither with a great reputation, not making good the expectation in the sagacity he was famed for, nor offering at any levies of men, or mending fortifications, until the French army was upon the borders. Then he sent into England to press the king to assist him with an army of horse and foot; and it easily appeared the nation would gladly have engaged in that war, not being willing that Flanders should be in the possession of France: but the king was engaged not to give any assistance to the enemies of France until the treaty should be ended, which yet it was not. However, he suffered the earl of Castlehaven, under pretence of recruiting a regiment in Flanders which he had formerly, to raise a body of one thousand foot, which he quickly transported to Ostend.

The king of France[a] was impatient to march, and yet desired the treaty might be first concluded, that both himself and the king of England might be at liberty to enter into such an alliance as they should think proper for their interest: and the Dutch, who had no mind that the expedition should

[a] of France] *Not in MS.*

1667. be prosecuted, and as much feared the consequence of such an alliance, though they were not wise enough to consider the right means to prevent it, desired that the treaty might not be concluded till the winter drew nearer. But the French quickly put an end to that their hope by marching into the heart of Flanders, and so giving them new matter for their present consultations; not without intimation, "that if they would not finish the treaty, that "king would conclude for what concerned himself:" and this put an end to it. Yet there were some alterations of small importance in some articles of the former treaty, besides that of Poleroone, which the ambassadors would not consent to without further knowledge of the king's pleasure: and so one of them (Mr. Henry Coventry) came to attend his majesty, to give him an account of all particulars, and receive his own final determination.

The French invade Flanders.

The king in the first place sent for the East India company, and let them know, "that the Dutch "would not consent to the former article for the re-"delivery of Poleroone, nor give any recompense "for it; and that he was resolved not to depart "from them [b], and so release their right without "their consent: and therefore that they should con-"sider what would be for their good." They answered, "that they thought a peace to be so neces-"sary for the kingdom, that they would not that "any particular interest of theirs should give any in-"terruption to it:" and they acknowledged, "that "if the war continued, they should in many respects "be greater losers, than the redelivery of Poleroone

The East India company give up their claim to Poleroone.

[b] them] him

" would repair; and that they would gladly sacrifice 1667.
" that pretence to the public peace."

Upon which answer the ambassador made his report of all the particulars which were consented to on both sides in the treaty, and what remained yet in suspense; and made answer to all questions which any of the council thought fit to ask. And the king requiring him to deliver his own opinion upon his observation, and " whether he believed, that if his " majesty should positively insist upon what they " had hitherto refused to consent to, the Dutch " would choose to continue the war; and whether " the French would join with them in it:" he answered, " that it was very evident that the Dutch " did not at present desire the peace, otherwise than " to comply with France and for fear of it; and " that France was obliged not to abandon them in " the point of Poleroone, which the other would " never part with, nor give any recompense for, " though the French ambassadors had used all the " arguments to persuade them to it. But if that " were agreed, he was confident they would be com- " pelled to consent to whatsoever was else of mo- " ment. And that the French had used some " threatening expressions, upon some insolent pro- " positions made by the Dane, which they thought " proceeded from the instigation of Holland. And " that at his coming away, the French ambassadors " had used great freedom with him, and advised in " what particulars which were yet unagreed they " wished his majesty would not consent, and in " which they could not serve him, but believed a " time would come, in which he would be repaired " for those condescensions: in other particulars he

1667. "should positively insist, at least with some little "variation of expression; in which he expressed "both his own and the opinion of the other ambas- "sador."

And the whole being in this manner clearly stated, the king required all the lords severally to deliver their judgment what he was to do; and every man did deliver his opinion in more or fewer words. And it may be truly said, that, though one or two adorned their passion with some expressions of indignation against the Dutch for their presumption, and as if they [c] did believe that the parliament would concur with the king in all things which might vindicate his honour from their insolent demands, the advice was upon the matter unanimous, "that the ambassadors should immediately return, "and conclude the peace upon those conditions "which were stated at the board." And he did presently return: and all matters were, within few days after his arrival, adjusted, and put into proper ministerial hands for engrossment, and all forms and circumstances agreed upon for the proclamation of the peace, and the day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and such forms of passes as should be given on all sides to merchants' ships, (which would be impatient for trade before the days could be expired,) in which all ships of war should be obliged to take notice that the peace was proclaimed.

The privy-council advises the king to conclude the treaty.

The peace made.

All this was done before the day of the parliament's convening upon the king's proclamation: so that there being now no use of an army, and reason enough to disband those regiments which had been

The parliament meets, and is immediately prorogued.

[c] they] he

raised towards it, his majesty thought it not reasonable that they should enter upon the debate of any business, but be continued under the former prorogation to the day appointed; and in this there appeared not one person of a different opinion. And so, upon the day, the king went to the house, and told them, "that since the condition of his affairs "was not so full of difficulty as it had been when "he sent out his proclamation, and since many "were of opinion, that there might be doubts arise "upon the regualrity of their meeting; he was con- "tent to dismiss them till the 20th of October:" and so they separated without any debate. 1667.

The storm begins to arise against the chancellor.

The public no sooner entered into this repose, than the storm began to arise that destroyed all the prosperity, ruined the fortune, and shipwrecked all the hopes, of the chancellor, who had been the principal instrument in the providing that repose. The parliament, that had been so unseasonably called together from their business and recreations, in a season of the year that they most desired to be vacant, were not pleased to be so soon dismissed: and very great pains were taken by those, who were thought to be able to do him the least harm, because they were known to be his enemies, to persuade the members of parliament, "that it was the chancellor "only who had hindered their continuing together, "and that he had advised the king to dissolve "them;" which exceedingly inflamed them.

Sir William Coventry incenses the members of the house of commons against him.

And sir William Coventry was so far from being reserved in his malice, that the very day that the parliament was dismissed, after he had incensed them against the chancellor, in the presence of six or seven of the members, who were not all of the

1667. same mind, he declared, "that if at their next meet-
"ing, which would be within little more than two
"months, they had a mind to remove the chancellor
"from the court, they should easily bring it to
"pass:" of all which he had quickly information, and had several other advertisements from persons of honour, "that there was a strong combination "entered into against him;" and they[d] mentioned some particulars to have been told the king concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his majesty. All which particulars, being without any colour or ground of truth, he believed were inventions (though not from those who informed him) only to amuse him.

Yet he took an opportunity to acquaint the king with it, who, with the same openness he had always used, conferred with him about his present business, but only of the business. He besought his majesty to let him know, "whether he had received any in-
"formation that he had done or said such and such
"things," which he made appear to him to be in themselves so incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his majesty's power to believe them[e]; to which the king answered, "that nobody
"had told him any such thing." To which the other replied, "that he did really think they had
"not, though he knew that they had bragged they
"had done so, and thereby incensed his majesty
"against him; which they desired should be gene-
"rally believed."

The truth is; the chancellor was guilty of that himself which he had used to accuse the archbishop

[d] they] *Omitted in MS.* [e] them] it

Laud of, that he was too proud of a good conscience. 1667.
He knew his own innocence, and had no kind of apprehension of being publicly charged with any crime. He knew well he had many enemies who had credit with the king, and that they did him all the ill offices they could: and he knew that the lady's power and credit increased, and that she desired nothing more than to remove him from his majesty's confidence; in which he never thought her to blame, since she well knew that he employed all the credit he had to remove her from the court. But he thought himself very secure in the king's justice: and though his kindness was much lessened, he was confident his majesty would protect him from being oppressed, since he knew his integrity; and never suspected that he would consent to his ruin. He was in truth weary of the condition he was in, and had in the last year undergone much mortification; and desired nothing more, than to be divested of all other trusts and employments than what concerned the chancery only, in which he could have no rival, and in the administration whereof he had not heard of any complaint: and this he thought might have satisfied all parties; and had sometimes desired the king, "that he "might retire from all other business, than that of "the judicatory," for he plainly discerned he was not able to contend with other struggles.

A particular relating to the duke of Buckingham, which hastens the fate of the chancellor.

I cannot avoid in this place mentioning an accident that fell out in this time, and enlarge upon all the circumstances thereof, which might otherwise be passed over, but that it had an immediate influence on the fate of the person who is so near his fall. The king had been very much offended with the

1667. duke of Buckingham, who had behaved himself much worse towards him than could be expected from his obligations and discretion, and had been in truth the original cause of all the ill humour which had been in both houses of parliament in the last session; after the end of which he went into the country without taking his leave of the king, and in several places spake with greater license of the court and government, and of the person of the king, than any other person presumed to do; of all which his majesty had intelligence and information, and was at that time without doubt more offended with him than with any man in England, and had really great provocation to jealousy of his fidelity, as well as of his respect and affection. The lord Arlington, as secretary of state, had received several informations of dangerous words spoken by him against the king, and of his correspondencies with persons the most suspected for seditious inclinations, the duke having made himself very popular amongst the levellers, and amongst them who clamoured for liberty of conscience, which pretence he seemed very much to cherish.

An account of the duke's behaviour.

The king was very much awakened to be jealous of him, besides his behaviour in the parliament, by some informations he received from his own servants. There was one Braythwaite, a citizen, who had been a great confident of Cromwell and of the council of state, a man of parts, and looked upon as having a greater interest with the discontented party than any man of the city. Upon the king's return this man fled beyond the seas, and after near a year's stay there came again to London, but remained there as incognito, came not upon the ex-

change, nor was seen in public, and returned again into Holland; and so made frequent journeys backward and forward for several months, and then came and resided publicly in the city. This being taken notice of by sir Richard Browne, who was major general of the city, upon whose vigilance the king very much and very justly depended, and the man being well known to him, he had long endeavoured to apprehend him[f], till he understood that he was a servant to the duke of Buckingham, and in great trust with him, as he was; for the duke had committed the whole managery of his estate to him, and upon his recommendation had received many other inferior servants to be employed under him, all of the same leaven with him, and all notorious for their disaffection to the church and state. The major general, being one day to give the king an account of some business, told him likewise of this man, "as one as worthy to be suspected for all "disloyal purposes, and as like to bring them to "pass, as any man of that condition in England;" and, seemed to wonder, "that the duke would en-"tertain such a person in his service." 1667.

At that time the duke had by his diligence, and those faculties towards mirth in which he excelled, made himself very acceptable to the king; though many wondered that he could be so, considering what the king himself knew of him: insomuch that his majesty told him what he had been informed of his steward, and how much he suffered in his reputation for entertaining such servants. The duke received the animadversion with all possible submis-

[f] him] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. sion and acknowledgment of the obligation, and then enlarged upon the commendation of the man, "of his great abilities, and the benefit he received "by his service;" and besought his majesty, "that "he would vouchsafe to hear him, for he believed "he would give an account of the state of the city, "and of many particulars which related to his ma- "jesty's service, better than most men could do." And the king shortly after supping at the duke's house, he found an opportunity to present Mr. Braythwaite to him, who was a man of a very good aspect, which that people used not to have, and of notable insinuation. He made the king a narration of the whole course of his life, in which he did not endeavour to make himself appear a better man than he had been reported to be; which kind of ingenuity, as men call it, is a wonderful approach towards being believed. He related "by what degrees, "and in what method of conviction, he had expli- "cated himself from all those ill principles in which "he had been entangled: and that it had been a "principal motive to him to embrace the opportunity "of serving the duke, that he might totally retire "from that company and conversation to which he "had been most accustomed. And yet he thought "he had so much credit with the chief of them, that "they could never enter into any active combina- "tion, but he should have notice of it: and assured "his majesty that nothing should pass of moment "amongst that people, but his majesty should have "very seasonable information of it, and that he "would always serve him with great fidelity." In fine, the king was well satisfied with his discourse, and often afterwards upon the like opportunities

conferred with him, and believed him to be well disposed to do him any service. 1667.

During the last session of parliament, in which the duke carried himself so disrespectfully to the king, this man found an opportunity to get access to his majesty, which he was willing to give him; when he said, "that he thought it his duty, and according to his obligation, to give his majesty an "account of what he had lately observed, and of his "own resolutions." He told him, "that his lord "was of late very much altered, and was fallen into "the acquaintance and conversation of some men "of very mean condition, but of very desperate in-"tentions; with whom he used to meet at unseason-"able hours, and in obscure places, where persons "of quality did not use to resort; and that he "frequently received letters from them: all which "made him apprehend that there was a design on "foot, which, how unreasonable soever, the duke "might be engaged in. And for these and other "reasons, and the irregular course of his life, he was "resolved to withdraw himself from his service: "and that he hoped, into what extravagancies so-"ever the duke should cast himself, his majesty "would retain a good opinion of him, who would "never swerve from his affection and duty."

The information and testimony, which the lord Arlington brought to the king shortly after this advertisement, made the greater impression; and there were many particulars in the informations that could not be suspected to be forged. And it appeared that there was a poor fellow, who had a poorer lodging about Tower-hill, and professed skill in horoscopes, to whom the duke often repaired in disguise in the

1667. night: and the lord Arlington had caused that fellow to be apprehended, and his pockets and his chamber to be searched; where were found several letters to the duke of Buckingham, one or two whereof were in his pocket sealed and not sent, and the rest copies, and one original letter from the duke to him, in all which there were many unusual expressions, which were capable of a very ill interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This man and some others were sent close prisoners to the Tower, where the lord Arlington and two other privy counsellors, by the king's order, took their several examinations, and confronted them with those witnesses, who accused them and justified their accusations; all which were brought to the king.

And then his majesty was pleased to acquaint the chancellor with all that had passed, who to that minute had not the least imagination of any particular relating to it: nor had he any other prejudice to the person of the duke, (for he behaved himself towards him with more than ordinary civility,) than what was necessary for any man to have upon account of the extravagancy of his life; and which he could not be without, upon what he had often received from the duke himself upon his own knowledge. The king now shewed him all those examinations and depositions which had been taken; and that letter to the fellow, "which," his majesty said, "he knew to be every word the duke's own hand;" and the letters to the duke from the fellow, which still gave him the style of prince; and mentioned what great things his stars promised to him, and that he was the darling of the people, who had set their hearts and affections and all their hopes upon

his highness, with many other foolish and some fustian expressions. His majesty told him in what places the duke had been since he left London; "that he stayed few days in any place; and that he "intended on such a day, that was to come, to be in "Staffordshire at the house of sir Charles Wolsely," a gentleman who had been of great eminency in Cromwell's council, and one of those who had been sent by the house of commons to persuade him to accept the crown with the title of king. Upon the whole matter his majesty asked him, "what way "he was to proceed against him:" to which he answered, "that he was first to be apprehended; and "when he should be in custody and examined, his "majesty would better judge which way he was to "proceed against him." 1667.

The king issues out his warrant to apprehend him.

Upon further consideration with the chancellor and lord Arlington and others of the council, the king sent a sergeant at arms, with a warrant under his sign manual, "to apprehend the duke of Buck-"ingham, and to bring him before one of the secre-"taries of state, to answer to such crimes as should "be objected against him;" or to that purpose. The sergeant made a journey into Northamptonshire, where he was informed the duke was[g]: but still, when he came to the house where he was said to be, it was pretended that he was gone from thence some hours before; by which he found that he had notice of his business. And therefore he concealed himself, and appointed some men to watch and inform themselves of his motions, it being generally reported that he would be at the house of the earl of Exeter

[g] was] *Omitted in MS.*

1667. at such a time. And notice was given him, that he was then in a coach with ladies going to that house: upon which he made so good haste, that he was in view of the coach, and saw the duke alight out of the coach, and lead a lady into the house; upon which the door of the court was shut before he could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other doors that were all shut; so that he could not get into the house, though it were some hours before sunset in the month of May. After some hours' attendance, one Mr. Fairfax, who waited upon the duke of Buckingham, came to the door, and without opening it asked him, "what he would have:" and he answered, "that he had a message to the duke "from the king, and that he must speak with him;" to which he replied, "that he was not there, and "that he should seek for him in some other place." The sergeant told him, "that he saw him go into "the house; and that if he might not be admitted "to speak with him, he would require the sheriff "of the county to give him his assistance:" upon which the gentleman went away, and about half an hour after returned again, and threatened the sergeant so much, after he had opened the door, that the poor man had not the courage to stay longer; but returned to the court, and gave a full relation in writing to the secretary of the endeavours he had used, and the affronts he had received.

He is removed from all his employments.

Why all the particular circumstances of this affair are so punctually related will appear anon. The king was so exceedingly offended at this carriage and behaviour of the duke, that he made relation of it to the council-board, and publicly declared, "that "he was no longer of that number," and caused his

name to be left out in the list of the counsellors, and "that he was no longer a gentleman of his bed-"chamber," and put the earl of Rochester to wait in his place. His majesty likewise revoked that commission by which he was constituted lord lieutenant of the east riding in Yorkshire, and granted that commission to the earl of Burlington: so that it was not possible for his majesty to give more lively instances of his displeasure against any man, than he had done against the duke. And at the same time, with the advice of the board, a proclamation issued out for his apprehension, and inhibiting all persons to entertain, receive, or conceal him. Upon which he thought it fit to leave the country, and that he should be less discovered in London, whither he resorted, and had many lodgings in several quarters of the city. And though his majesty had frequent intelligence where he was, and continued advertisements of the liberty he took in his discourses of his own person, and of some others, of which he was no less sensible; yet when the sergeant at arms, and others employed for his apprehension, came where he was known to have been but an hour before, he was gone from thence, or so concealed there that he could not be found: and in this manner he continued sleeping all the day, and walking from place to place in the night, for the space of some months. 1667.

A proclamation for apprehending him.

At last, being advertised of renewed instances of the king's displeasure, and that it every day increased upon new intelligence that he received of his behaviour, he grew weary of the posture he was in, and employed several persons to move the king on his behalf; for he was informed that the king

1667. resolved to proceed against him for his life; and that his estate was begged and given. Upon this one night he sent his secretary, Mr. Clifford, to the chancellor, with whom he had never entered into any dispute, with some compliments and expressions of confidence in his friendship. He professed "great "innocence and integrity in all his actions with re- "ference to the king, though he might have been "passionate and indiscreet in his words; that there "was a conspiracy against his life, and that his es- "tate was granted or promised to persons who had "begged it:" and in conclusion he desired "that he "would send him his advice what he should do, but "rather, that he would permit him to come to him "in the evening to his house, that he might confer "with him."

The duke desires the chancellor to interpose in his behalf.

The chancellor answered his secretary, who was well known to him, "that he might not confer with "him till he rendered himself to the king; that he "was confident, having seen testimony enough to "convince him, that the duke was not innocent; "and that he had much to answer for disrespectful "mention of the king, which would require much "acknowledgment and submission: but that he did "not know that his crimes were of that magnitude "as would put his life into danger; and that he "was most confident that there was no conspiracy "to take that from him, except his faults were of "another nature than they yet appeared to be; "and which no conspiracy, which he need not fear, "could deprive him of. And he did not believe "that there had been any attempt to beg his estate: "but he was sure there had not been, nor could "be, any grant of it to any man, which must have

The chancellor's advice to him.

" passed by the great seal." He did advise him, 1667.
and desired him to follow his advice, " that if he did
" know himself innocent as to unlawful actions and
" designs, and that his fault consisted only in indis-
" creet words, as he seemed to confess; he would
" no longer aggravate his offence by contemning
" his warrants, which he would not be long able to
" avoid, but deliver himself into the custody of the
" lieutenant of the Tower, which he was at liberty
" by the proclamation to do, and send then a petition
" to the king, that he might be heard: and that when
" he had done this, he would be ready and willing
" to do him all the offices which would consist with
" his duty."

And the next day he gave his majesty a particular account of the message which he had received, and of the answer which he had returned; which his majesty approved, and shewed him a letter that he had received from the duke that morning, which seemed to have been written after his secretary had returned from the chancellor. The letter contained a large profession of his innocence, and complaint of the power of his enemies, and a very earnest desire " that his majesty would give him
" leave to speak with him, and then dispose of
" him as he pleased;" to which his majesty had answered to the person who brought the letter, who, as I remember, was sir Robert Howard, " that
" the duke need not fear the power of any ene-
" mies, but would be sure to have justice, if he
" would submit to it."

The king grows weary of the prosecution.

But his majesty in his discourse seemed to be as weary of the prosecution, as the duke was of the concealing himself to avoid it, and to have much

1667. apprehension of his interest and power in the parliament; and to be troubled that the principal witness, upon whose testimony he relied, was at that[h] time sick of the smallpox, and in danger of death, and that another retracted part of that evidence that he had given. In a word, his majesty appeared less angry than he had been, and willing that an end should be put to the business without any public prosecution. To which the chancellor made no other answer, than "that no advice could be given "with preservation of his majesty's dignity, till the "duke rendered himself into the hand of justice:" which he was very unwilling to do, and sent again to the chancellor by sir Robert Howard, to press him, "that he might be admitted first to the king's "presence, and then sent to the Tower." The other told him, "that if the king were inclined to "admit him in that manner, he would dissuade him "from it, as a thing dishonourable to him after so "long a contest;" and repeated the same to him that he said formerly to Mr. Clifford: nor could he be persuaded by any others (for others did speak to him to the same purpose) to recede a tittle from what he had insisted upon, "that he should put "himself in the Tower." In[i] all which he still gave the king a faithful account of every word that passed: for he knew well that the lord Arlington endeavoured to persuade the king, "that the chancellor "favoured the duke, and desired that he should be "at liberty;" when at the same time he used all the ways he could to have it insinuated to the duke's friends, "that he knew nothing of the business, but

[h] that] *Omitted in MS.* [i] In] Of

" that the whole prosecution was made by the infor- 1667.
" mation and advice of the chancellor."

In the end, the duke was persuaded to render himself to the Tower: and from thence he sent a petition to the king, who presently appeared very well[k] inclined to give over any further prosecution; which alteration all men wondered at, nor could any man imagine the ground or reason of it. For though the principal witness was dead, as the lord Arlington declared he was, and that so much could not be proved as at the first discovery was reasonably suspected; yet the meanness and vileness of the persons with whom he kept so familiar correspondence, the letters between them which were ready to be produced, the disrespectful and scandalous discourses which he often held concerning the king's person, and many other particulars which had most inflamed the king, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifested so much vanity and presumption in the duke, as must have lessened his credit and reputation with all serious men, and made him worthy of severe censure. But whether the king thought not fit to proceed upon the words and scandalous discourses, which he thought would more disperse and publish the scandals; or whether he did really believe that it would disturb and obstruct all his business in parliament; or what other reason soever prevailed with his majesty, as without doubt some other there were: his majesty[l] was very impatient to be rid of the business, and would have been easily persuaded to have given pre-

The duke surrenders himself.

[k] well] *Not in MS.*

[l] his majesty] but his majesty

1667. sent order for setting the duke at liberty, and so to silence all further discourse. But he was persuaded, "that that would most reflect upon his own honour, "by making it believed, that there had been in truth "a foul conspiracy against the person of the duke, "which would give him more credit in the parlia- "ment and every where else;" for the king had not yet, with all his indulgence, a better opinion of his affection and fidelity than he had before.

He is examined at the council-board.

In conclusion; it was resolved, "that the lieute- "nant of the Tower should bring the duke of Buck- "ingham to the council chamber, his majesty being "present; and there the attorney and solicitor gene- "ral should open the charge that was against him, "and read all the examinations which had been "taken, and the letters which had passed between "them:" all which was done. And the duke deny- ing "that he had ever written to that fellow, though "he knew him well, and used to make himself merry "with him," the letter was produced (which the king and the lord Arlington, who both knew his hand well, made no doubt to be his hand) and de- livered to the duke; who, as soon as he cast his eye upon it, said, "it was not his hand, but he well "knew whose it was." And being asked whose hand it was, he said, "it was his sister's, the duchess "of Richmond, with whom," he said, "it was known "that he had no correspondence." Whereupon the king called for the letter, and, having looked upon it, he said, "he had been mistaken," and confessed "that it was the duchess's hand;" and seemed much out of countenance upon the mistake: though the letter gave still as much cause of suspicion, for it

was as strange that she should write to such a fellow in a style very obliging, and in answer[1] to a letter; so that it seemed very reasonable still to believe, that she might have written it upon his desire and dictating. 1667.

The duke denied most of the particulars contained in the examinations: and for the other letters which had been written to him by the fellow who was in the Tower, (whereof one was found in his pocket sealed to be sent to the duke, and the others were copies of others which had been sent; and the witness who was dead had delivered one of them into the duke's own hand, and related at large the kindness he expressed towards the man, and the message he sent to him by him,) he denied that he had ever received those letters; but acknowledged, "that the man came often to him, and pretended "skill in horoscopes, but more in distillations, "in which the duke delighted and exercised him-"self, but looked upon the fellow as cracked in his "brain, and fit only to be laughed at." When the duke was withdrawn, the king declared, "that he "had been deceived in being confident that the letter had been written by the duke, which he now "discerned not to be his hand, and he knew as well "to have been written by the duchess;" and thereupon seemed to think that there was nothing else worth the examining: and so order was given to set the duke at liberty, who immediately went to his own house, and went not in some days afterwards to the court.

The king easily satisfied with his defence.

About this time, or in a few days afterwards, a

[1] in answer] being in answer

1667. great affliction befell the chancellor in his domestics, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected accidents that suddenly succeeded that more insupportable misfortune. His wife, the mother of all his children, and his companion in all his banishment, and who had made all his former calamities less grievous by her company and courage, having made a journey to Tunbridge for her health, returned from thence without the benefit she expected, yet without being thought by the physicians to be in any danger; and within less than three days died: which was so sudden, unexpected, and irreparable a loss, that he had not courage to support; which nobody wondered at who knew the mutual satisfaction and comfort they had in each other. And he might possibly have sunk under it, if his enemies had not found out a new kind of consolation to him, which his friends could never have thought of.

The chancellor loses his wife.

Within few days after his wife's death, the king vouchsafed to come to his house to condole with him, and used many gracious expressions to him: yet within less than a fortnight the duke (who was seldom a day without doing him the honour to see him) came to him, and with very much trouble told him, "that such a day, that was past, walking with "the king in the park, his majesty asked him how "the chancellor did: to which his highness had "made answer, that he was the most [m] disconsolate "person he ever saw [n]; and that he had lamented "himself to him not only upon the loss of his wife, "but out of apprehension that his majesty had of late

The duke of York sent by the king to desire the chancellor to resign.

[m] most] *Omitted in MS.* [n] saw] *Omitted in MS.*

" withdrawn his countenance from him: to which 1667.
" his majesty replied, that he wondered he should
" think so, but that he would speak more to him of
" that subject the next day. And that that morn-
" ing his majesty had held a long discourse with
" him, in which he told him, that he had received
" very particular and certain intelligence, that when
" the parliament should meet again, they were re-
" solved to impeach the chancellor, who was grown
" very odious to them [o], not only for his having op-
" posed them in all those things upon which they
" had set their hearts, but that they had been in-
" formed that he had proposed and advised their dis-
" solution; which had enraged them to that degree,
" that they had taken a resolution as soon as they
" came together again to send up an impeachment
" against him; which would be a great dishonour
" to his majesty, and obstruct all his affairs, nor
" should he be able to protect him or divert them:
" and therefore that it would be necessary for his
" service, and likewise for the preservation of the
" chancellor, that he should deliver up the seal to
" him. All which he desired the duke" (who con-
fessed that he had likewise received the same adver-
tisement) " to inform him of: and that the chancel-
" lor himself should choose the way and the manner
" of delivering up the seal, whether he would wait
" upon the king and give it into his own hand, or
" whether the king should send a secretary or a
" privy counsellor for it." When the duke had said
all that the king had given him in charge, he de-
clared himself "to be much unsatisfied with the

[o] them] him

1667. "king's resolution; and that[p] though he had re-
"ceived the same advertisement, and believed that
"there was a real combination and conspiracy
"against him, yet he knew the chancellor's inno-
"cence would not be frighted with it."

The chancellor was indeed as much surprised with this relation, as he could have been at the sight of a warrant for his execution. He told the duke, "that he did not wonder that the king and "his highness had been informed of such a resolu-"tion; for that they who had contrived the conspi-"racy, and done all they could to make it prevalent, "could best inform his majesty and his highness of "what would probably fall out." And thereupon he informed the duke "of what had passed at the "day of the last prorogation, and the discourse and "promise sir William Coventry had made to them, "if they had a mind to be rid of the chancellor: "but," he said, "that which only afflicted him was, "that the king should have no better opinion of his "innocence and integrity, than to conclude that "such a combination must ruin him. And he was "more troubled to find, that the king himself had so "terrible an apprehension of their[q] power and their[r] "purposes, as if they might do any thing they had "a mind to do. He did not believe that he was so "odious to the parliament as he was reported to "be; if he were, it was only for his zeal to his ma-"jesty's service, and his insisting upon what his ma-"jesty had resolved: but he was confident that "when his enemies had done all that their malice "could suggest against him, it would appear that

[p] that] *Not in MS.* [q] their] the [r] their] the

"the parliament was not of their mind. He wished 1667.
"that he might have the honour to speak with the
"king, before he returned any answer to his com-
"mands." The duke was pleased graciously to re-
ply, "that it was the advice he intended to give
"him, that he should desire it; and that he doubted
"not but that he should easily prevail with the king
"to come to his house, whither he had used so fre-
"quently to come, and where he had been so few
"days before:" and at this time the chancellor was not well able[s] to walk; besides that it was against the common rules of decency to go so soon out of his house. When the duke desired the king, that he would vouchsafe to go to Clarendon-house, his majesty very readily consented to it; and said, "he "would go thither the next day." But that and more days passed; and then he told the duke, "that "since he resolved to take the seal, it would not be "so fit for him to go thither; but he would send "for the chancellor to come to his own chamber in "Whitehall, and he would go thither to him."

In the mean time it began to be the discourse of the court: and the duchess, from whom the duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it; who presently went to the king with some passion; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the general accompanied her, who all besought the king not to take such a resolution. And many other of the privy-council, with none of whom the chancellor had spoken, taking notice of the rumour, attended the king with the same suit and advice. To all whom his majesty answered, "that what he intended was

Many persons of eminence interpose on his behalf.

[s] not well able] not only not well able

1667. " for his good, and the only way to preserve him." He held longer discourse to the general, " that he " did believe by what his brother had told him, of " the extreme agony the chancellor was in upon the " death of his wife, that he had himself desired to " be dismissed from his office;" and bade the general " go to him, and bid him come the next morning " to his own chamber at Whitehall, and the king " would come thither to him." And the general came to him with great professions of kindness, which he had well deserved from him, gave him a relation of all that had passed with the king, and concluded, " that what had been done had been " upon mistake; and he doubted not, but that upon " conference with his majesty all things would be " well settled again to his content;" which no doubt he did at that time believe as well as wish.

The chancellor attends the king at Whitehall.

Upon Monday, the 26th of August, about ten of the clock in the morning, the chancellor went to his chamber in Whitehall, where he had not been many minutes, before the king and duke by themselves came into the room. His majesty looked very graciously upon him, and made him sit down; when

Conference between them.

the other acknowledged " the honour his majesty " had done him, in admitting him into his presence " before he executed a resolution he had taken." He said, " that he had no suit to make to him, nor " the least thought to dispute with him, or to divert " him from the resolution he had taken; but only " to receive his determination from himself, and " most humbly to beseech him to let him know " what fault he had committed, that had drawn this " severity upon him from his majesty." The king told him, " he had not any thing to object against

" him; but must always acknowledge, that he had 1667.
" always served him honestly and faithfully, and
" that he did believe that never king had a better
" servant, and that he had taken this resolution for
" his good and preservation, as well as for his own
" convenience and security; and that he had verily
" believed that it had been upon his consent and
" desire." And thereupon his majesty entered upon a relation of all that had passed between him and the duke, and " that he really thought his brother " had concurred with him in his opinion, as the " only way to preserve him." In that discourse the duke sometimes positively denied to have said somewhat, and explained other things as not said to the purpose his majesty understood, or that he ever implied that himself thought it fit.

The sum of what his majesty said was, " that he " was most assured by information that could not " deceive him, that the parliament was resolved, as " soon as they should come together again, to im- " peach the chancellor; and then that his innocence " would no more defend and secure him against " their power, than the earl of Strafford had de- " fended himself against them: and," he said, " he " was as sure, that his taking the seal from him at this " time would so well please the parliament, that his " majesty should thereby be able to preserve him, " and to provide for the passage of his own business, " and the obtaining all that he desired." He said, " he was sorry that the business had taken so much " air, and was so publicly spoken of, that he knew " not how to change his purpose;" which he seemed to impute to the passion of the duchess, that had divulged it.

1667. The chancellor told him, "that he had not con-
"tributed to the noise, nor had imparted it to his
"own children, till they with great trouble informed
"him, that they heard it from such and such per-
"sons," whom they named, "with some complaint
"that it was concealed from them: nor did he then
"come in hope to divert him from the resolution he
"had taken in the matter itself." He said, "he had
"but two things to trouble him with. The first,
"that he would by no means suffer it to be believed
"that he himself was willing to deliver up the seal;
"and that he should not think himself a gentleman,
"if he were willing to depart and withdraw himself
"from the office, in a time when he thought his
"majesty would have need of all honest men, and
"in which he thought he might be able to do him
"some service. The second, that he could not ac-
"knowledge this deprivation to be done in his fa-
"vour, or in order to do him good; but on the con-
"trary, that he looked upon it as the greatest ruin
"he could undergo, by his majesty's own declaring
"his judgment upon him, which would amount to
"little less than a confirmation of those many libel-
"lous discourses which had been raised, and would
"upon the matter expose him to the rage and fury
"of the people, who had been with great artifice and
"industry persuaded to believe, that he had been
"the cause and the counsellor of all that they liked
"not. That he was so far from fearing the justice
"of the parliament, that he renounced his majesty's
"protection or interposition towards his preserva-
"tion: and that though the earl of Strafford had
"undergone a sentence he did not deserve, yet he
"could not acknowledge their cases to be parallel.

" That though that great person had never com- 1667.
" mitted any offence that could amount to treason,
" yet he had done many things which he could not jus-
" tify, and which were transgressions against the law:
" whereas he was not guilty of any action, whereof
" he did not desire the law might be the judge.
" And if his majesty himself should discover all that
" he had said to him in secret, he feared not any
" censure that should attend it: if any body could
" charge him with any crime or offence, he would
" most willingly undergo the punishment that be-
" longed to it.

" But," he said, " he doubted very much, that the
" throwing off an old servant, who had served the
" crown in some trust near thirty years, (who had
" the honour by the command of his blessed father,
" who had left good evidence of the esteem he had
" of his fidelity, to wait upon his majesty when he
" went out of the kingdom, and by the great bless-
" ing of God had the honour to return with him
" again; which no other counsellor alive could say,)
" on the sudden [t], without any suggestion of a crime,
" nay, with a declaration of innocence, would call
" his majesty's justice and good-nature into ques-
" tion; and men would not know how securely to
" serve him, when they should see it was in the
" power of three or four persons who had never
" done him any notable service, nor were in the
" opinion of those who knew them best like to do,
" to dispose him to so ungracious an act."

The king seemed very much troubled and irre-solute; then repeated " the great power of the par-

[t] on the sudden] should on a sudden

1667. "liament, and the clear information he had of their "purposes, which they were resolved to go through "with, right or wrong; and that his own condition "was such, that he could not dispute with them, "but was upon the matter at their mercy."

The chancellor told him, "it was not possible for "his majesty to have any probable assurance what "the parliament would do. And though he knew "he had offended some of the house of commons, in "opposing their desires in such particulars as his "majesty thought were prejudicial to his service; "yet he did not doubt but his reputation was much "greater in both houses, than either of theirs who "were known to be his enemies, and to have this "influence upon his majesty, who were all known "to be guilty of some transgressions, which they "would have been called in question for in parlia-"ment, if he had not very industriously, out of the "tenderness he had for his majesty's honour and "service, prevented it; somewhat whereof was not "unknown to his majesty." He concluded "with "beseeching him, whatever resolution he took in "his particular, not to suffer his spirits to fall, nor "himself to be dejected with the apprehension of "the formidable power of the parliament, which "was more or less or nothing, as he pleased to make "it: that it was yet in his own power to govern "them; but if they found it was in theirs to go-"vern him, nobody knew what the end would be." And thereupon he made him a short relation of the method that was used in the time of Richard the Second, "when they terrified the king with the "power and the purposes of the parliament, till they "brought him to consent to that from which he

"could not redeem himself, and without which they "could have done him no harm." And in the warmth of this relation he found a seasonable opportunity to mention the lady with some reflections and cautions, which he might more advisedly have declined. 1667.

After two hours' discourse, the king rose without saying any thing, but appeared not well pleased with all that had been said; and the duke of York found he was offended with the last part of it. The garden, that used to be private, had now many in it to observe the countenance of the king when he came out of the room: and when the chancellor returned, the lady, the lord Arlington, and Mr. May, looked together out of her open window with great gaiety and triumph, which all people observed. The king leaves him in displeasure.

Four or five days passed without any further proceedings, or the king's declaring his resolution: and in that time the chancellor's concern was the only argument of the court. Many of the council, and other persons of honour and interest, presumed to speak with the king, and to give a very good testimony of him, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his parts, and credit with the sober part of the nation: and to those his majesty always commended him, with professions of much kindness; but said, "he had made himself odious to the parliament, "and so was no more capable to do him service." On the other side, the lady and lord Arlington, and sir William Coventry, exceedingly triumphed, the last of which openly and without reserve declared, "that he had given the king advice to remove him "as a man odious to the parliament, and that the "king would be ruined if he did it not; that he

1667. " was so imperious, that he would endure no con-
" tradiction;" with many other reproaches to that purpose. But except those three, and Mr. May and Mr. Brounker, there seemed none of name in the court who wished that the resolution should be pursued.

The duke of York interests himself on the chancellor's behalf.

The duke of York concerned himself wonderfully on the chancellor's behalf, and with as much warmth as any private gentleman could express on the behalf of his friend. He had great indignation at the behaviour of sir William Coventry and Mr. Brounker, that being his servants they should presume to shew so much malice towards a person they knew he had kindness for. And the former had so much sense of it, that he resolved to quit the relation by which he had got vast wealth, and came to him, and told him, " that since he was commissioner for the trea-
" sury, he found he should not be able to attend his
" service so diligently as he ought to do; and there-
" fore desired his highness's favour in his dismission,
" and that he would give him leave to commend an
" honest man to succeed him in his service:" to which his highness shortly answered, " that he
" might dispose himself as he would, with which
" he was well content; and that he would choose
" another secretary for himself without his recom-
" mendation." And his highness presently went to the chancellor, and informed him of it, with displeasure enough towards the man, and much satisfaction that he was rid of him; and asked him " whom he
" would recommend to him for a secretary." He told his highness, " that if he would trust his judg-
" ment, he would recommend a person to him, who
" he believed was not unknown to him, and for

" whose parts and fidelity he would pass his word, 1667.
" having had good experience of both in his having
" served him as a secretary for the space of above
" seven years;" and named Mr. Wren. The duke said, " he knew him well, being a member of the " Royal Company, where he often heard him speak " very intelligently, and discerned him to be a man " of very good parts, and therefore he would very " willingly receive him; and the rather, that he " knew it would be looked upon as an evidence of " his kindness to him, which he would always own " and testify to all the world:" and within two days after, he received him into his service with the king's approbation, the gentleman's abilities being very well known, and his person much loved.

In this suspension, the common argument was, " that it was not now the question whether the " chancellor was innocent; but whether, when the " king had so long resolved to remove him, and had " now proceeded so far towards it, he should retract " his resolution, and be governed by his brother: it " was enough that he was not beloved, and that the " court wished him removed." And Mr. Brounker openly declared, " that the resolution had been taken " above two months before; and that it would not " consist with his majesty's honour to be hectored " out of it by his brother, who was wrought upon " by his wife's crying." And this kind of argumentation was every moment inculcated by the lady and her party: insomuch as when the duke made his instances with all the importunity he could use, and put his majesty in mind " of many discourses " his majesty had formerly held with him, of the " chancellor's honesty and discretion, conjuring him

1667. "to love and esteem him accordingly, when his "highness had not so good an opinion of him;" and complained[u], "that now he had found by good ex- "perience that he deserved that character, his ma- "jesty would withdraw his kindness from him, and "rather believe others, who he knew were his ene- "mies[x], than his own judgment:" the king gave no other answer, than "that he had proceeded too "far to retire; and that he should be looked upon "as a child, if he receded from his purpose."

The great seal taken from the chancellor.

And so being reconfirmed, upon the 30th of August in the year 1667 he sent secretary Morrice, who had no mind to the employment, with a warrant under the sign manual, to require and receive the great seal; which the chancellor immediately delivered to him with all the expressions of duty to the king. And as soon as the secretary had delivered it to the king in his closet, Mr. May went into the closet, and fell upon his knees, and kissed his majesty's hand, telling him "that he was now "king, which he had never been before."

The chancellor believed that the storm had been now over; for he had not the least apprehension of the displeasure of the parliament, or of any thing they could say or do against him: yet he resolved to stay at his house till it should meet, (without going thither, which he was informed would be ill taken,) that he might not be thought to be afraid of being questioned; and then to retire into the country, and to live there very privately. And there was a report raised without any ground, that he intended to go to the house of peers, and take his precedence as

[u] complained] *Not in MS.* [x] his enemies] in his enemies.

chancellor, with which the king was much offended: 1667.
but as soon as he heard of it, he desired the lord chamberlain to assure his majesty, "that he never "intended any such thing, nor would ever do any "thing that he believed would displease him;" with which he seemed well satisfied.

However, a new tempest was quickly raised against him. Many persons of honour and quality came every day to visit him with many expressions of affection and esteem; and most of the king's servants, except only those few who had declared themselves his enemies, still frequented his house with the same kindness they had always professed: but they were looked upon quickly with a very ill countenance by the other party, and were plainly told, "that the king would take it ill from all his "servants who visited the chancellor;" though when some of them asked his majesty; "whether their vi- "siting him, to whom they had been formerly much "beholden, would offend his majesty;" he answered, "No, he had not forbid any man to visit him." Yet it appeared more every day, that they were best looked on who forebore going to him, and the other found themselves upon much disadvantage; by which however many were not discouraged.

The chief prosecutors behaved themselves with more insolence than was agreeable to their discretion: and the lord Arlington, who had long before behaved himself with very little courtesy towards all persons whom he believed to be well affected to the chancellor, even towards ambassadors and other foreign ministers, now when any of his friends came to him for the despatch of business in his office, asked them "when they saw the chancellor," and

1667. bade them "go to him to put their business into a "method." The duke of Buckingham, who had after his enlargement visited the chancellor, and acknowledged the civilities he had received from him, came now again to the court, and was received with extraordinary grace by the king, and restored to all the honours and offices of which he was deprived; and was informed and assured, "that all "the proceedings which had been against him were "upon the information and advice of the chan- "cellor:" and whatever he had spoken in council was told him in that manner (and without the true circumstances) that might make most impression on him.

The duke of Buckingham restored to all his employments.

One day whilst that matter was depending, (which is not mentioned before,) the lord Arlington, after he found the king had acquainted the chancellor with the business, and shewed him the information and examinations which had been taken, proposed, there being more or the same witnesses to be further examined, "that the chancellor might be "present with the rest who had been formerly "employed at their examining:" which the king seeming to consent to, the other desired to be excused, "for that the office he held never used to be "subject to those employments;" and in the debate added, "that if the testimony of witnesses made "good all that was suggested, and the duke should "be brought to a trial, it might probably fall out, "that the king might command him to execute the "office of high steward, as he had lately done in "the trial of the lord Morley; and in that respect "it would be very incongruous for him to be "present at the examinations." The duke was now

informed, without any of the circumstances, that the chancellor had said that he was to be high steward at the trial of the duke. 1667.

He is inflamed against the chancellor;

The duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the matter know, that the lord Arlington (with whom he had enmity) had been very solicitous in his prosecution, had, after his having visited the chancellor, sent a friend, whom he thought he would trust, to him, "to desire him to deal freely "with him concerning the lord Arlington, whom he "knew to be an enemy to both of them; and that "he must have him examined upon that conspiracy, "which he hoped he would not take ill:" to which he answered, "that he neither would nor could be "examined concerning any thing that had been "said or done in council; but that he would, as his "friend, and to prevent his exposing himself to any "new inconvenience, very freely and faithfully as-"sure him, that he did not believe that there had "been any conspiracy against him, nor did know "that the lord Arlington had done any thing in the "prosecution, but what was according to the obli-"gation and duty of his office; which testimony," he said, "could proceed only from justice, since he "well knew that lord did not wish him well." This answer, it seems, or the despair of drawing any other from him to his purpose, disposed him to give entire credit to the other information; and the king took great pains to reconcile him to the lord Arlington, who made many vows to him of his future service, and desired his protection: and hereupon the duke openly professed his resolution of revenge, and frankly entered into the combination

And induced to concur in the prosecution.

1667. with the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor.

But the knowledge of all this did not give him much trouble, (so much confidence he had in his own innocence, and so little esteem of the credit and interest of his enemies,) until he heard that the king himself expressed great displeasure towards him, and declared, "that he had misbehaved himself "towards his majesty, and that he was so imperious "that he would endure no contradiction; that he "had a faction in the house of commons, that op- "posed every thing that concerned his majesty's "service, if it were not recommended to them by "him; and that he had given him very ill advice "concerning the parliament, which offended him "most:" all which they to whom his majesty said it divulged to others, that they might thereby lessen the chancellor's credit and interest. It is very true, they who had taken all advantages to alienate the king's affections from him, had at first only proposed his removal, "as a person odious to the parlia- "ment, and whom they were resolved to impeach, "which would put his majesty into a strait, either "to renounce and [y] desert an old servant, which "would not be for his honour, or, by protecting "him, to deprive himself of all those benefits which "he expected from the parliament; whereas the re- "moving him would so gratify the houses, that "they would deny nothing that his majesty should "demand of them;" and his majesty did believe it the only way to preserve him. But when they

The king expresses great displeasure against the chancellor.

[y] and] or

had prevailed so far, and rendered themselves more necessary to him, they prosecuted what they had begun with more visible animosity, and told him, "that if the parliament suspected that his majesty "retained still any kindness towards him, they "would not be satisfied with his removal, but "apprehend that he would be again received into "his favour; and he would in the mean time have "so much credit in both houses, especially if he sat "in the house of peers," which they undertook to know he intended to do, "that he would be able to "obstruct whatsoever his majesty desired: and "therefore it was necessary that his majesty should "upon all occasions declare, and that it should be "believed, that he had so full a prejudice against "him, that nobody should have cause to fear, that "he would ever again be received into any trust." And this disposed his majesty to discourse to many in that manner that is before set down. 1667.

And when the duke of York lamented to his majesty the reports which were generally spread abroad, of the discourses which he made to many persons of the chancellor's misbehaviour towards himself, and his own displeasure against him; the king denied many of the particulars, as that concerning his ill counsel against the parliament, which he denied to have spoken: but said withal, "that if "the chancellor had done as he advised him, and "delivered up the seal to him as of his own inclina-"tion, all would have been quiet. But since he in-"sisted so much upon it, and compelled him to send "for it in that manner, he was obliged in the vindi-"cation of his honour to give some reasons for "what he had done, when other men took upon

1667. "them so loudly to commend the chancellor, and to "justify his innocence, not without some reflection "upon his own honour and justice, which he could "not but take very ill: but he should not suffer," he said, "for what other men did, and that he "would use his two sons as kindly as ever he had "done." And it must be always acknowledged, that though great importunity was used to his majesty, to discharge his two sons from his service, as a thing necessary by all the rules of policy, not to suffer the sons to remain so near his person, when their father lay under so notorious a brand of his displeasure, (in which they believed they had so far prevailed, that they took upon them to promise their places to other men:) yet[z] the king positively refused to yield to them, and continued his favour still to them both in the same manner he had done. And though he was long after persuaded to suspend his eldest son from waiting, under which cloud he continued for many months, yet at last he was restored to his place with circumstances of extraordinary favour and grace: nor did his majesty afterwards recede from his goodness towards either of them, notwithstanding all the attempts which were made.

The parliament meets: the king reflects on the chancellor.

The parliament met upon the 10th of October, when the king in a short speech told them, "that "there had been some former miscarriages, which "had occasioned some differences between him and "them: but that he had now altered his counsels, "and made no question but that they should hence-"forward agree, for he was resolved to give them

[z] yet] but

" all satisfaction; and did not doubt but that they 1667.
" would supply his necessities, and provide for the
" payment of his debts;" with an insinuation, " that
" what had been formerly done amiss had been by
" the advice of the person whom he had removed
" from his counsels, and with whom he should not
" hereafter advise."

Unfair methods used to induce both houses to thank the king for removing him.

When the house of commons came together, one Tomkins, a man of very contemptible parts and of worse manners, (who used to be encouraged by men of design to set some motion on foot, which they thought not fit to appear in themselves till they discerned how it would take,) moved the house, " that
" they might send a message of thanks to the king
" for his gracious expressions, and for the many
" good things which he had done, and particularly
" for his removing the chancellor;" which was seconded by two or three, but rejected by the house as a thing unreasonable for them who knew not the motives which had disposed his majesty: and so a committee was appointed to prepare such a message as might be fit for them to send. And the house of lords [a] the same day sent to the king, without consulting with the house of commons, to give his majesty thanks for the speech he had made to them in the morning, which commonly used to be done. The king declared himself very much offended that the proposition in the house of commons for returning thanks to him had not succeeded, and more that it had been opposed by many of his own servants; and commanded them " to press and renew the mo-
" tion: that his honour was concerned in it; and

[a] lords] commons *by mistake in MS.*

1667. "therefore he would expect thanks, and would take "it very ill of any of his own servants who refused "to concur in it." Hereupon it was again moved: but notwithstanding all the labour that had been used contrary to all custom and privilege of parliament, the question held six hours' debate, very many speaking against the injustice and irregularity of it; they on the other side urging the king's expectation of it. In the end, the question being put, it was believed the noes were [b] the greater number: but the division of the house was not urged for many reasons; and so the vote was sent to the house of lords, who were desired to concur with them.

But it had there a greater contradiction. They had already returned their thanks to the king; and now to send again, and to add any particular to it, would be very incongruous and without any precedent: and therefore they would not concur in it. This obstinacy very much displeased the king: and he was persuaded by those who had hitherto prevailed with him, to believe that this contradiction, if he did not master it, would run through all his business that should be brought into that house. Whereupon his majesty reproached many of the lords for presuming to oppose and cross what was so absolutely necessary for his service: and sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, "that he should in his "majesty's name command all the bishops' bench to "concur in it; and if they should refuse it, he would "make them repent it;" with many other very severe reprehensions and animadversions. This being

[b] were] to be

done in so extraordinary a manner, the duke of York told his majesty, "how much it was spoken of "and wondered at:" to which his majesty replied, "that his honour was engaged, and that he would "not be satisfied, if thanks were not returned to "him by both houses; and that it should go the "worse for the chancellor if his friends opposed it." And he commanded his royal highness that he should not cross it, but was contented to dispense with his attendance, and gave him leave to be absent from the debate; which liberty many others likewise took: and so when it was again moved, though it was still confidently opposed, it was carried by a major part, many [c] being absent. 1667.

And so both houses attended the king and gave him thanks, which his majesty graciously received as a boon he looked for, and said somewhat that implied that he was much displeased with the chancellor; of which some men thought they were to make the best use they could. And therefore, after the king's answer was reported to the house of peers, as of course whatsoever the king says upon any message is always reported, it was proposed, "that the "king's answer might be entered into the Journal "Book;" which was rejected, as not usual, even when the king himself spoke to both houses: nor was what he now said entered in the house of commons. However, when they had consulted together, finding [d] that they had not yet so particular a record of the displeasure against the chancellor, as what he had said upon this message did amount unto, they moved the house again, "that it might

[c] many] and many

[d] finding] they found

1667. "be entered in the book:" and it was again rejected. All which would not serve the turn; but the duke of Buckingham a third time moved it, as a thing the king expected: and thereupon it was entered.

And his majesty now declared to his brother and to many of the lords, "that he had now all he de-"sired, and that there should be no more done to "the chancellor." And without doubt the king had not at this time a purpose to give any further countenance to the animosity of his enemies, who thought that what was already done was too easy a composition, and told his majesty, "that, if he "were not prosecuted further, he would gain repu-"tation by it: for that the manner in which all "votes had been yet carried was rather a vindication "than censure of him; and he would shortly come "to the house with more credit to do mischief, and "to obstruct whatsoever related to his service. "But that such things would be found against him, "as soon as men were satisfied that his majesty "had totally deserted him, (which yet they were "not,) that he would have no more credit to do "good or harm." Hereupon there were several cabals entered into, who invited and sent for persons of all conditions, who had had any business depending before the chancellor, or charters passed the seal; and examined them whether he had not received money from them, or they were otherwise grieved by him, promising that they should receive ample reparation.

Persons sought after to furnish matter of impeachment against him.

The duke of Buckingham, and some others with him, sent for sir Robert Harlow, who had the year before gone to the Barbadoes with the lord Wil-

loughby, who had much friendship for him; yet after they came thither, they grew unsatisfied with each other to that degree, that the lord Willoughby, who was governor of those islands, removed him from the office he had conferred on him, and sent him by the next shipping into England; where he arrived full of vexation for the treatment he had received, and willing to embrace any opportunity to be revenged on the governor. Him the duke of Buckingham sent for, who he knew was privy to all the lord Willoughby's counsels, and asked him, "what money the lord Willoughby had given the "chancellor for that government," (for it was well known that the chancellor had been his chief friend in procuring that government for him, and in discountenancing and suppressing those who in England or in the islands had complained of him,) "and "what money he had received from those islands; "and that it was probable that he had some in- "fluence upon the lord Willoughby towards the dis- "grace himself had undergone:" and added, "that "he would do the king a very acceptable service, in "discovering any thing of the chancellor's miscar- "riages, of which his majesty himself knew so "much." To which the gentleman answered, "that "he had no obligation to the chancellor that would "restrain him from declaring any thing that might "be to his prejudice; but that he was not able to "do it: nor did he believe that he had ever receiv- "ed any money from the lord Willoughby or from "the islands." And this kind of artifice and inquisition was used to examine all his actions; and they who were known to be any way offended with him, or disobliged by him, were most welcome to them. 1667.

1667. After many days spent in such close contrivances and combinations, Mr. Seymour, a young man of great confidence and boldness, stood up in the house of commons, and spake long and with great bitterness against the chancellor, and "of his great corruption in many particulars, by which," he said, "he had gotten a vast estate. That he had received great sums of money from Ireland, for making a settlement that every body complained of, and that left that kingdom in as great distraction as ever it had been. That he had gotten great sums of money indirectly and corruptly from the plantations, the governments whereof he had disposed; by preferments in the law and in the church; and for the passing of charters: and that he had received four thousand pounds from the Canary company for the establishing that company, which was so great and general a grievance to the kingdom. And, which was above all this, that he had traitorously persuaded, or endeavoured to persuade, the king to dissolve the parliament, and to govern by a standing army; and that he had said, that four hundred country gentlemen were only fit to give money, and did not understand how an invasion was to be resisted." He mentioned many other odious particulars, "which," he said, "he would prove," and therefore proposed, "that they would presently send up to the lords to accuse him of high treason, and require that his person might be secured." Some others seconded him with very bitter invectives: and as many gave another kind of testimony, and many reasons which made it improbable that he could be guilty of so many heinous crimes; and "that it

Mr. Seymour accuses him of high treason in the house of commons.

" would be unreasonable that he should be accused 1667.
" of high treason by the house, before such proofs
" should be presented to them of crimes, that they
" had reason to believe him guilty." And so after many hours' debate, what they proposed for the present accusing him was rejected, and a committee appointed to consider of all particulars which should be presented against him; " upon reporting whereof " to the house, it would give such further order as " should be just."

The confident averment of so many particulars, and the so positively naming the particular sums of money which he had received, with circumstances not likely to be feigned; and especially the mentioning of many things spoken in council, "which," they said, " would be proved by privy counsellors;" and other particular advices given in private to the king himself, " which," they implied, and confidently affirmed in private, " the king himself would acknow- " ledge;" made that impression upon many who had no ill opinion of the chancellor, and upon others who had always thought well of him, and had in truth kindness for him, that of both sorts several messages of advice were secretly sent to him, " that " he would preserve his life by making an escape, " and transporting himself into foreign parts; for " that it was not probable there could be so extreme " and violent a prosecution, if they had not such " evidence against him as would compass their " ends." To all which he answered, " that he " would not give his enemies that advantage as to " fly from them: and in the mean time desired his " friends to retain the good opinion they had always " had of him, until they heard somewhat proved

Many advise him to make his escape:

Which he refuses to do.

1667. "that would make him unworthy of it; and then "he would be well contented they should withdraw "it." And it appeared afterwards, that though some of his good friends had advised that he should secure himself by flight, it proceeded from the advertisements that they had received through other hands, which came originally from his chiefest enemies, who desired that he might appear to be guilty by avoiding a trial; and who confidently informed many men, "that the impeachment was ready, and "had been perused by the king, and that his ma- "jesty had with his hand struck out an article "which related to the queen's marriage, and another "that concerned the marriage of the duke; but that "there was enough left to do the business; and that "the duke of Buckingham should be made high "steward for the trial."

The king's declaration of the chancellor's innocence;

These reports, being spread abroad, wrought upon the duke to desire the king, "that he would "let him know what he did intend; and whether "he desired to have the chancellor's life, or that he "should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment:" to which his majesty protested, "that he would "have neither, but was well satisfied; and that he "was resolved to stop all further prosecution "against him," which his majesty likewise said to many others. The duke then asked the king, "whether the chancellor had ever given him coun- "sel to govern by an army, or any thing like it; "which," he said, "was so contrary to his humour, "and to the professions which he had always made, "and the advices he had given him, that if he were "guilty of it, he should doubt his sincerity in all "other things:" to which his majesty answered,

" that he had never given him such counsel in his 1667.
" life; but, on the contrary, his fault was, that he
" always insisted too much upon the law." Where-
upon his royal highness asked him, " whether he
" would give him leave to say so to others;" and his
majesty replied, " with all his heart."

The duke then told it to his secretary Mr. Wren, and to many other persons, and wished them to publish it upon any occasion: upon which it was spread abroad, and Mr. Wren informed many of the members of the house of commons of all that had passed between the king and the duke in that discourse; which so much disheartened the violent prosecutors, that when the committee met that was to present the heads of a charge against him to the house, nobody appeared to give any evidence, so that they adjourned without doing any thing. Hereupon sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant and creature of the duke of Buckingham, and who had told many persons in the country before the parliament met, " that the chancellor would be accused of high
" treason; and if he were not hanged, he would be
" hanged himself;" this gentleman went to the king, and informed him what Mr. Wren confidently reported in all places, " which very much dissatisfied
" that party that desired to do him service; so that
" they knew not how to behave themselves:" to which his majesty answered, " that Wren was a Which he afterwards disowns.
" lying fellow, and that he had never held any such
" discourse with his brother." This gave them new courage, and they resolved to call Mr. Wren to an account for traducing the king. And his majesty expostulated with the duke for what Mr. Wren had so publicly discoursed: and his highness declared,

1667. "that Mr. Wren had pursued his order, his majesty "having not only said all that was reported, but "having[e] given him leave to divulge it;" to which the king made no other answer, "but that he "should be hereafter more careful of[f] what he said "to him."

All this begat new pauses, and no advance was[g] made in many days; so that it was generally believed that there would be no further prosecution: but the old argument, that they were gone too far to retire, had now more force, because many members of both houses were now joined to the party in declaring against the chancellor, who would think themselves to be betrayed and deserted, if no more should be done against him. And hereupon the committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare heads for a charge, which sat many days, there being little debate upon the matter; for such of the committee, who knew him well, were so well pleased to find him accused of nothing but what all the world did believe him not guilty of, that they[h] thought they could not do him more right, than to suffer all that was offered to pass, since there appeared no person that offered to make proof of any particular that was suggested. But three or four members of the house brought several papers, containing particulars, "which," they said, "would "be proved:" all which they reported to the house.

The heads were;

I. "That the chancellor had traitorously, about

[e] having] had
[f] of] *Not in MS.*
[g] was] *Not in MS.*
[h] that they] *Not in MS.*

"the month of June last, advised the king to dis- 1667.
"solve the parliament, and said there could be no
"further use of parliaments; that it was a foolish
"constitution, and not fit to govern by; and that it
"could not be imagined, that three or four hundred
"country gentlemen could be either prudent men
"or statesmen: and that it would be best for the
"king to raise a standing army, and to govern by
"that; whereupon it being demanded how that
"army should be maintained, he answered, by con-
"tribution and free quarter, as the last king main-
"tained his army in the war.

Articles of the charge against him.

II. "That he had, in the hearing of several per-
"sons, reported, that the king was a papist in his
"heart, or popishly affected, or had used words to
"that effect.

III. "That he had advised the king to grant
"a charter to the Canary company, for which he
"had received great sums of money.

IV. "That he had raised great sums of money
"by the sale of offices which ought not to be sold,
"and granted injunctions to stop proceedings at
"law, and dissolved them afterwards for money.

V. "That he had introduced an arbitrary go-
"vernment into his majesty's several plantations,
"and had caused such as had complained to his
"majesty and privy-council of it to be imprisoned
"long for their presumption; and that he had frus-
"trated and rejected a proposition that had been
"made for the preservation of Nevis and St. Chris-
"topher's, and for the reducing the French planta-
"tions to his majesty's obedience.

VI. "That he had caused *quo warrantos* to be
"issued out against most corporations in England,

1667. "although the charters were newly confirmed by "act of parliament, till they paid him good sums of "money, and then the *quo warrantos* were dis- "charged.

VII. "That he had received great sums of mo- "ney for the settlement of Ireland.

VIII. "That he had deluded the king and be- "trayed the nation in all foreign treaties and nego- "tiations, especially concerning the late war.

IX. "That he had procured his majesty's customs "to be farmed at underrates, knowing them to be "so; and caused many pretended debts to be paid "by his majesty, to the payment whereof his ma- "jesty was not in strictness bound; for all which "he had received great sums of money.

X. "That he had received bribes from the com- "pany of vintners, that they might continue the "prices of their wines, and might be freed from the "penalties which they were liable to.

XI. "That he had raised in a short time a "greater estate than could be lawfully got; and "that he had gotten the grant of several of the "crown lands contrary to his duty.

XII. "That he had advised and effected the "sale of Dunkirk to the French king, for less "money than the ammunition, artillery, and stores "were worth.

XIII. "That he had caused the king's letters "under the great seal to one Dr. Crowther to "be altered, and the enrolment thereof to be "rased.

XIV. "That he had in an arbitrary way ex- "amined and drawn into question divers of his ma- "jesty's subjects concerning their lands and proper-

" ties, and determined thereof at the council-table, 1667.
" and stopped the proceedings at law, and threatened
" some that pleaded the statute of 17 Car.

XV. " That he was a principal author of that
" fatal counsel of dividing the fleet in June 1666."

The committee reported another article for his charge, which was, " that he had kept corre-
" spondence with Cromwell during the time of the
" king's being beyond the seas, and had sent over
" his secretary to him, who was shut up with him
" for many hours:" but there were many members of the house, who wished it had been true, knew well enough that foolish calumny had been examined at Paris during the time that his majesty resided there, when persons of the highest degree were very desirous to have kindled a jealousy in the king of the chancellor's fidelity; and that the scandal appeared so gross and impossible, that his majesty had then published a full vindication of his innocence; with a further declaration, " that when it should
" please God to restore him to his own dominions,
" he should receive such further justice and repara-
" tion, as the laws would enable him to procure." And it was well known to divers of the members present, that the persons who were suborned in that conspiracy had acknowledged it since the king's return; and the persons themselves who had suborned them had confessed it, and begged the chancellor's pardon: of all which his majesty had been particularly and fully informed. And that it might be no more ripped up or looked into, they seemed to reject it as being included under the act of indemnity, which they would have left him to have pleaded for

1667. the infamy of it, if they had not very well known the grossness of the scandal.

Though the fierceness of the malice that was contracted against him was enough known and taken notice of, yet the heads for the charge, which upon so much deliberation were prepared and offered to the house against him, were of such a nature, that all men present did in their own conscience acquit him: and therefore it was generally believed the prosecutors would rather have acquiesced with what they had done to blast his reputation, than have proceeded further, to bring him to answer for himself. But they had gone too far to retire. And they who had first wrought upon the king, only by persuading him, "that there was so universal a "hatred against the chancellor, that the parliament "would the first day accuse him of high treason; "and that the removing him from his office was the "only way to preserve him, except he would in "such a conjuncture, and when he had so much "need of the parliament, sacrifice all his interest "for the protection of the chancellor," (and this was the sole motive that had prevailed with him, as his majesty not only assured him the last time he spake with him, with many gracious expressions, but at large expressed it to very many persons of honour, who endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing that counsel, "that it was the only expedient for "the chancellor's preservation," with as great a testimony of his integrity and the services he had done him as could be given:) the same men now importuned him, "to prosecute with all his power, "and to let those of his servants and others who

The king persuaded to encou-

" regarded his commands know, that they could not 1667.
" serve him and the chancellor together; and that Encouraging the prosecution.
" he should look upon their adhering to him as the
" abandoning his majesty's service. That the chan-
" cellor had so great a faction in both houses, that
" no proposition on his majesty's behalf would have
" effect; and that he would shortly come to the
" house of peers, and obstruct all proceedings there."

This prevailed so far, that they resumed their Proceedings against him in the house of commons.
former courage, and pressed " that he might be ac-
" cused by the house of commons of high treason:
" upon which the lords would presently commit him
" to the Tower: and then nobody would have any
" longer apprehension of his power to do hurt."
Hereupon they resolved again to consider the several heads of the charge they had provided, to see if they could find any one upon which they could ground an accusation of high treason. They spent a whole day upon the first head, which they thought contained enough to do their work, it containing the most unpopular and ungracious reproach that any man could lie under; " that he had designed a
" standing army to be raised, and to govern the
" kingdom thereby; he advised the king to dissolve
" the present parliament, to lay aside all thoughts of
" parliaments for the future, to govern by military
" power, and to maintain the same by free quarter
" and contribution."

The chancellor had been bred of the gown; and in the first war, in which the last king had been involved by a powerful rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all overtures towards peace. Since the king's return he laboured nothing more, than that his majesty might enter into a firm

1667. peace with all his neighbours, as most necessary for the reducing his own dominions into that temper of subjection and obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all men, that he had most passionately dissuaded the war with Holland, with much disadvantage to himself; and that no man had taken so much pains as he to bring the present peace to pass, which at that time was grateful to all degrees of men: and, in a word, that he had no manner of interest or credit with the soldiers; but was looked upon by them all, as an enemy to the privileges which they required, of being exempted from the ordinary rules of justice, in which he always opposed them.

But let the improbability of this charge be what it would, there were persons of the house who pretended that it should be fully proved; and so the question was only, "whether upon it they should "charge him with an accusation of treason:" and after a debate of eight hours, it was declared by all the lawyers of the house, "that how foul soever the "charge seemed to be, yet it contained no high "treason;" and in that conclusion they at last concurred who were most relied upon to support the accusation. But when the speaker directed the order to be drawn, "that the earl of Clarendon "should not be accused of high treason," it was alleged, that the order was only to relate to that first head; some men declaring, "that though that ar-"ticle had missed him, yet there were others which "would hit him:" and so the night being come, the farther debate was adjourned to another day.

When the day appointed came, (in which interval all imaginable pains and arts were used, by threats

and promises, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be against the chancellor, or to be absent at the next debate that concerned him,) upon reading the several other heads as they had been presented from the committee, it appeared to all men, that though all that was alleged were proved, the whole would not amount to make him guilty of high treason. And they got no ground by throwing aspersions upon him upon the several arguments, which they did with extraordinary license who were known to be his enemies; for thereby other men of much better reputations, and who had no relation to the chancellor, took occasion to answer and contradict their calumnies, and to give him such a testimony, as made him another man than they would have him understood to be; and their testimony had more credit: so that they declined the pursuit of that license, and intended wholly the discovery of the treason, since no other accusation would serve their turn. 1667.

When they had examined all their store, they pitched at last upon that head, "that he had de-"luded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in "all foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the "late war:" which when read and considered, it was said, "that in those general expressions there was "not enough contained upon which they could ac-"cuse him of high treason, except it were added, "that being a privy counsellor, he had discovered "the king's secret counsels to the enemy." Which was no sooner said, than a young confident man, the lord Vaughan, son to the earl of Carbery, a person of as ill a face as fame, his looks and his manners both extreme bad, asked for the paper that had

1667. been presented from the committee, and with his own hand entered into that place those words, "that "being a privy counsellor he had discovered the "king's secrets to the enemy," which he said he would prove; whilst many others whispered into the ears of those who sat next to them, "that he had "discovered all the secret resolutions to the king of "France, which," they said, "was the ground of "the king's displeasure towards him." Upon[i] this confident insinuation from persons who were near the person of his majesty, and known to have much credit with him; and the positive averment by a member, "that the disclosing the king's secrets to the "enemy," which nobody could deny to be treason, "would be positively and fully proved against him," and the rather because no man believed it to be true; it was voted, "that they should impeach "him of high treason in the usual manner to the "house of peers." Whereupon Mr. Seymour, who had appeared very violent against him, was sent up to the lords; and at the bar he accused Edward earl of Clarendon of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours, and desired "that he might be se-"questered from that house, and his person secured."

Mr. Seymour accuses him of high treason at the bar of the house of lords.

Debates in that house concerning his commitment.

And as soon as he was withdrawn, some of the lords moved, "that he might be sent for:" and now the warmth that had been so long within the walls of the house of commons appeared in the house of peers. Many of the lords, who were not thought much inclined to the person of the chancellor, represented, "that[k] the consequence of such a pro-"ceeding would reflect to the prejudice of every one

[i] Upon] *Omitted in MS.* [k] that] *Not in MS.*

" of the peers. If upon a general accusation from 1667.
" the house of commons of high treason, without
" mentioning any particular, they should be obliged
" to commit any peer; any member that house should
" be offended with, how unjustly soever, might be
" removed from the body: which would be a greater
" disadvantage than the members of the house of
" commons were liable to." And therefore they advised, " that they should for answer let the house
" of commons know, that they would not commit
" the earl of Clarendon until some particular charge
" was exhibited against him."

On the other side, it was urged with much passion, " that they ought to comply with the house of
" commons in satisfying their requests, according to
" former precedents:" and the case of the earl of Strafford, and some other cases in that parliament, were cited; which gave those who were of another mind opportunity to inveigh against that time, and the accursed precedents thereof, which had produced so many and great mischiefs to the kingdom. They put them in mind, " that they had committed eleven
" bishops at one time for high treason, only that
" they might be removed from the house, whilst a
" bill passed against their having votes any more in
" that house, which was no sooner passed than they
" were set at liberty; which had brought great
" scandal and[1] great reproach upon the honour and
" justice of the parliament: and that both those bills,
" for the attainder of the earl of Strafford and for the
" excluding the bishops out of the house of peers,
" stand at present repealed by the wisdom and au-

[1] and] and brought

1667. "thority of this parliament." In a word, after many hours' debate with much passion, either side adhering obstinately to their opinion, no resolution was taken; but the house adjourned, without so much as putting the question, to the next day.

From the time of the parliament's coming together, and after the king's displeasure was generally taken notice of, many of the chancellor's friends advised him to withdraw, and transport himself into foreign parts; and some very near the king, and who were witnesses of the very great displeasure his majesty every day expressed towards him, were of the same opinion: but he positively refused so to do, and resolved to trust to his innocence, which he was sure must appear.

Differences between the houses.

The debate continued still between the two houses, which would entertain no other business: the house of commons in frequent conferences demanding the commitment of the chancellor; and the major part of the house of peers, notwithstanding all the indirect prosecution and interposition from the court, remaining as resolved not to commit him. In this unhappy conjuncture, the duke of York, who expressed great affection and concernment for the chancellor, fell sick of the smallpox; which proved of great disadvantage to him. For not only many of the peers who were before restrained by their respect to him, and supported by his countenance in the debates, either changed their minds, or absented themselves from the house; but the general, who had always professed great friendship to the chancellor, who had deserved very well from him, and had endeavoured to dissuade the king from withdrawing his favour from him with all possible im-

portunity, was now changed by the unruly humour of his wife, and the frequent instances of the king; and made it his business to solicit and dispose the members of both houses, with many of whom he had great credit, "no longer to adhere to the chancellor, "since the king resolved to ruin him, and would "look upon all who were his friends as enemies to "his majesty." Notwithstanding all which, the major part by much of the house of peers continued still firm against his commitment: with which the king was so offended, that there were secret consultations of sending a guard of soldiers, by the general's authority, to take the chancellor out of his house, and to send him to the Tower; whither directions were already sent what lodging he should have, and caution given to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was thought to have too much respect for the chancellor, "that he should not treat him "with more civility than he did other prisoners." 1667.

The chancellor is again advised to withdraw:

He had many friends of the council and near the king, who advertised him of those and all other intrigues, and thereupon renewed their importunity that he would make his escape; and some of them undertook to know, and without question did believe, "that his withdrawing would be grateful to "the king," who every day grew more incensed against him, for the obstinacy his friends in both houses expressed on his behalf. They urged "the "ill condition he must in a short time be reduced "to, wherein his innocence would not secure him; "for it was evident that his enemies had no purpose "or thought of bringing him to a trial, but to keep "him always in prison, which they would in the "end one way or other bring to pass: whereas he

1667. " might now easily transport himself, and avoid all
" the other inconveniences." And they undertook to know, " that if he were gone, there would be no " further proceeding against him."

There could not be a more terrifying or prevalent argument used towards his withdrawing, than that of a prison; the thought and apprehension whereof was more grievous to him than of death itself, which he was confident would quickly be the effect
But refuses. of the other. However, he very resolutely refused to follow their advice; and urged to them " the ad-
" vantage he should give his enemies, and the dis-
" honour he should bring upon himself, by flying, in
" having his integrity condemned, if he had not the
" confidence to defend it." He said, " he could now
" appear, wherever he should be required, with an
" honest countenance, and the courage of an inno-
" cent man: but if he should be apprehended in a
" disguise running away, which he could not but
" expect by the vigilance of his enemies, (since he
" could not make any journey by land, being at that
" time very weak and infirm,) he should be very
" much out of countenance, and should be exposed
" to public scorn and contempt. And if he should
" make his escape into foreign parts, it would not
" be reasonable to expect or imagine that his ene-
" mies, who had so far aliened the king's affection
" from him, and in spite of his innocence prevailed
" thus far, would want power to prosecute the ad-
" vantage they should get by his flight, which would
" be interpreted as a confession of his guilt; and
" thereupon they would procure such proceedings
" in the parliament, as might ruin both his fortune
" and his fame."

His friends, how unsatisfied soever with his reso- 1667.
lution, acquiesced for the present, after having first prevailed with him to write himself to the king; which he did, though without any hope that it would make any impression upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what fountain, except the power of the great lady with the conjunction of his known enemies, which had been long without that effect, that fierceness of his majesty's displeasure could proceed. He had, before this storm fell upon him, been informed by a person of honour who knew the truth of it, "that some persons had persuaded the king, that the chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of "the duke of Richmond, with which his majesty "was offended in the highest degree: and the "lord Berkley had reported it with all confi- "dence." Whereupon the chancellor had expostulated with the lord Berkley, whom he knew to be his secret enemy, though no man made more outward professions to him: but he denied he had reported any such thing. And then he took notice to the king himself of the discourse, and desired to know, "whether any such story had been represent- "ed to his majesty, since there was not the least "shadow of truth in it:" to which the king answered with some dryness, "that no such thing had "been told to him." Yet now he was assured, "that that business stuck most with his majesty, "and that from that suggestion his enemies had "gotten credit to do him the worst offices; and his "majesty complained much of the insolence with "which he used to treat him in the agitation and "debate of business, if he differed from him in

The king offended with him about the duke of Richmond's marriage:

1667. "opinion." Upon these reasons he writ this letter in his own hand to the king, which was delivered to him by the lord keeper, who was willing to perform that office. The letter was in these words.

"May it please your majesty [m],

His letter to the king upon that subject.

"I am so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish. The crimes which are objected against me, how passionately soever pursued, and with circumstances very unusual, do not in the least degree fright me. God knows I am innocent in every particular as I ought to be; and I hope your majesty knows enough of me to believe that I had never a violent appetite for money, that could corrupt me. But, alas! your majesty's declared anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then) your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I hope they may be changed; I am sure I am not, but have the same duty, passion, and affection for you, that I had when you thought it most unquestionable, and which was and is as great as ever man had for any mortal creature. I should die in peace, (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty would free you from further trou-

[m] May it please your majesty, &c.] *This letter is in the handwriting of his lordship's son Laurence first earl of Rochester.*

" ble, by taking me to himself,) if I could know or 1667.
" guess at the ground of your displeasure, which I
" am sure must proceed from your believing, that I
" have said or done somewhat I have neither said
" nor[n] done. If it be for any thing my lord Berkley
" hath reported, which I know he hath said to many,
" though being charged with it by me he did as po-
" sitively disclaim it; I am as innocent in that whole
" affair, and gave no more advice or counsel or coun-
" tenance in it, than the child that is not[o] born:
" which your majesty seemed once to believe, when I
" took notice to you of the report, and when you con-
" sidered how totally I was a stranger to the persons
" mentioned, to either of whom I never spake word,
" or received message from either in my life. And
" this I protest to your majesty is true, as I have
" hope in heaven: and that I have never wilfully
" offended your majesty in my life, and do upon my
" knees beg your pardon for any over-bold or saucy
" expressions I have ever used to you; which, being
" a natural disease in old servants who have received
" too much countenance, I am sure hath always pro-
" ceeded from the zeal and warmth of the most sin-
" cere affection and duty.

" I hope your majesty believes, that the sharp
" chastisement I have received from the best-na-
" tured and most bountiful master in the world, and
" whose kindness alone made my condition these
" many years supportable, hath enough mortified me
" as to this world; and that I have not the presump-
" tion or the madness to imagine or desire ever to

[n] nor] or [o] not] now

1667. "be admitted to any employment or trust again. "But I do most humbly beseech your majesty, by "the memory of your father, who recommended me "to you with some testimony, and by your own gra- "cious reflection upon some one service I may have "performed in my life, that hath been acceptable to "you; that you will by your royal power and in- "terposition put a stop to this severe prosecution "against me, and that my concernment may give "no longer interruption to the great affairs of the "kingdom; but that I may spend the small remain- "der of my life, which cannot hold long, in some "parts beyond the seas, never to return; where "I will pray for your majesty, and never suffer "the least diminution in the duty and obedience "of,

"May it please your majesty,
"Your majesty's
"Most humble and most
"Obedient subject and servant,

"*From my house* "CLARENDON."
"*this* 16*th of November.*"

The king was in his cabinet when the letter was delivered to him; which as soon as he had read, he burned in a candle that was on the table, and only said, "that there was somewhat in it that he did "not understand, but that he wondered that the "chancellor did not withdraw himself:" of which the keeper presently advertised him, with his earnest advice that he would be gone.

The king expresses a desire of his withdrawing.

The king's discourse was according to the persons with whom he conferred. To those who were engaged

in the violent prosecution he spake with great bitterness of him, repeating many particular passages, in which he had shewed much passion because his majesty did not concur with him in what he advised. To those who he knew were his friends he mentioned him without any bitterness, and with some testimony of his having served him long and usefully, and as if he had pity and compassion for him: yet "that he wondered that he did not absent "himself, since it could not but be very manifest to "him and to all his friends, that it was not in his "majesty's power to protect him against the preju- "dice that was against him in both houses; which," he said, "could not but be increased by the obstruc- "tion his particular concernment gave to all public "affairs in this conjuncture; in which," he said, "he was sure he would prevail at last." All these advertisements could not prevail over the chancellor, for the reasons mentioned before; though he was very much afflicted at the division between the two houses, the evil consequence whereof he well understood, and could have been well content that the lords would have consented to his imprisonment. 1667.

The bishop of Hereford, who had been very much obliged to the chancellor, and throughout this whole affair had behaved himself with very signal ingratitude to him, and thereby got much credit in the court, went to the bishop of Winchester, who was known to be a fast and unshaken friend to the chancellor; and made him a long discourse of what the king had said to him, and desired him "that he "would go with him to his house;" which he presently did, and, leaving him in a room, went himself

The bishop of Hereford sent to advise him to leave the kingdom:

1667. to the chancellor, and told him what had passed from the bishop of Hereford, "who was in the next "room to speak with him, but would not in direct "words to him acknowledge that he spake by the "king's order or approbation; but that he had con-"fessed so much to him with many circumstances, "and that the lord Arlington and Mr. Coventry had "been present." The chancellor had no mind to see or speak with the bishop, who had carried himself so unworthily towards him, and might probably misreport any thing he should say: but he was overruled by the other bishop, and so they went both into the next room to him.

The bishop of Hereford in some disorder, as a man conscious to himself of some want of sincerity towards him, desired "that he would believe that he "would not at that time have come to him, with "whom he knew he was in some umbrage, if it "were not with a desire to do him service, and "if he had not a full authority for whatsoever "he said to him." Then he enlarged himself in discourse more involved and perplexed, without any mention of the king, or the authority he had for what he should say; the care to avoid which was evidently the cause of the want of clearness in all he said. But the bishop of Winchester supplied it by relating all that he had said to him: with which though he was not pleased, because the king and others were named, yet he did not contradict it; but said, "he did not say that he was sent by "the king or spake by his direction, only that he "could not be so mad as to interpose in such an af-"fair without full authority to make good all that "he should promise." The sum of all was, "that if

" the chancellor would withdraw himself into any 1667.
" parts beyond the seas, to prevent the mischiefs
" that must befall the kingdom by the division and
" difference between the two houses; he would un-
" dertake upon his salvation," which was the ex-
pression he used more than once, " that he should
" not be interrupted in his journey; and that after
" he should be gone, he should not be in any degree
" prosecuted, or suffer in his honour or fortune by
" his absence."

Which he refuses to do without receiving a command from his majesty.

The chancellor told him, " that he well under-
" stood what he must suffer by withdrawing himself,
" and so declining the trial, in which his innocence
" would secure him, and in the mean time preserve
" him from being terrified with the threats and ma-
" lice of his enemies: however, he would expose
" himself to that disadvantage, if he received his
" majesty's commands to that purpose, or if he had
" but a clear evidence that his majesty did wish it,
" as a thing that he thought might advance his
" service. But without that assurance, which he
" might receive many ways which could not be
" taken notice of, he could not with his honour or
" discretion give his implacable enemies that advan-
" tage against him, when his friends should be able
" to allege nothing in his defence."

The bishop replied, " that he was not allowed to
" say that his majesty required or wished it, but
" that he could not be so mad as to undertake what
" he had promised, without sufficient warrant;"
and repeated again what he had formerly said.
To which the other answered, " that the vigilance
" and power of his enemies was well known: and
" that though the king might in truth wish that he

1667. "were safe on the other side of the sea, and give no "direction to interrupt or trouble him in his jour- "ney; yet that it was liable to many accidents in "respect of his weakness and infirmity," which was so great at that time, that he could not walk without being supported by one or two; so that he could not be disguised to any body that had ever known him. Besides that the pain he was already in, and the season of the year, made him apprehend, that the gout might so seize upon him within two or three days, that he might not be able to move: and so the malice of those who wished his destruction might very probably find an opportunity, without or against the king's consent, to apprehend and cast him into prison, as a fugitive from the hand of justice. For the prevention of all which, which no man could blame him for apprehending; he proposed, "that he might have a pass from the "king, which he would not produce but in such an "exigent: and would use all the providence he "could, to proceed with that secrecy that his "departure should not be taken notice of; but if it "were, he must not be without such a protection, "to preserve him from the present indignities to "which he must be liable, though possibly it would "not protect him from the displeasure of the parlia- "ment." The bishop thought this proposition to be reasonable, and seemed confident that he should procure the pass: and so that conference ended.

The next day the bishop sent word, "that the "king could not grant the pass, because if it should "be known, by what accident soever, it would much "incense the parliament: but that he might as se- "curely go as if he had a pass;" which moved no

further with him, than his former undertaking had done. Nor could the importunity of his children, or the advice of his friends, persuade him to depart from his resolution. 1667.

The French ambassador urges him to retire to France:

About the time of the chancellor's disgrace, monsieur Ruvigny arrived at London as envoy extraordinary from the French king, and came the next day after the seal was taken from him. He was a person well known in the court, and particularly to the chancellor, with whom he had been formerly assigned to treat upon affairs of moment, being of the religion and very nearly allied to the late earl of Southampton. And as these considerations were the chief motives that he was made choice of for the present employment, so the chief part of his instructions was to apply himself to the chancellor, through whose hands it was known that the whole treaty that was now happily concluded, and all the preliminaries with France, had entirely passed. When he found that the conduct of affairs was quite changed, and that the chancellor came not to the court, he knew not what to do, but immediately despatched an express to France for further instructions. He desired to speak with the chancellor; which he refused, and likewise to receive the letters which he had brought for him and offered to send to him, all which he desired might be delivered to the king. When the proceedings in parliament went so high, Ruvigny, who had at all hours admission to the king, and intimate conversation with the lord Arlington, and so easily discovered the extreme prejudice and malice that was contracted against the chancellor, sent him frequent advertisements of what was necessary for him to know, and with all

1667. possible earnestness advised him, when the divisions grew so high in the houses, "that he would with-"draw and retire into France, where," he assured him, "he would find himself very welcome." All which prevailed no more with him than the rest. And so another week passed after the bishop's proposition, with the same passion in the houses: and endeavours were used to incense the people, as if the lords obstructed the proceeding of justice against the chancellor by refusing to commit him; and Mr. Seymour told the lord Ashley, "that the people "would pull down the chancellor's house first, and "then those of all the lords who adhered to him."

Which he declines.

At length the king sends to him to withdraw.

By this time the duke of York recovered so fast, that the king, being assured by the physicians that there would be no danger of infection, went on Saturday morning, the 29th of November, to visit him: and being alone together, his majesty bade him "advise the chancellor to be gone," and blamed him that he had not given credit to what the bishop of Hereford had said to him. The king had no sooner left the duke, but his highness sent for the bishop of Winchester, and bade him tell the chancellor from him, "that it was absolutely necessary for him "speedily to be gone, and that he had the king's "word for all that had been undertaken by the "bishop of Hereford."

He unwillingly obeys, and leaves the kingdom.

As soon as the chancellor received this advice and command, he resolved with great reluctancy to obey, and to be gone that very night: and having, by the friendship of sir John Wolstenholme, caused the farmers' boat to wait for him at Erith, as soon as it was dark he took coach at his house Saturday night, the 29th of November 1667, with two servants

only. And being accompanied with his two sons and two or three other friends on horseback as far as Erith, he found the boat ready; and so embarked about eleven of the clock that night, the wind indifferently good: but before midnight it changed, and carried him back almost as far as he had advanced. And in this perplexity he remained three days and nights before he arrived at Calais, which was not a port chosen by him, all places out of England being indifferent, and France not being in his inclination, because of the reproach and calumny that was cast upon him: but since it was the first that offered itself, and it was not seasonable to affect another, he was very glad to disembark there, and to find himself safe on shore. 1667. He lands at Calais.

All these particulars, of which many may seem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought necessary to be related, it being a principal part of his vindication for going away, and not insisting upon his innocence; which at that time made a greater impression upon many worthy persons to his disadvantage, than any particular that was contained in the charge that had been offered to the house. And therefore though he forebore, when all the promises were broken which had been made to him, and his enemies' malice and insolence increased by his absence, to publish or in the least degree to communicate the true ground and reasons of absenting himself, to avoid any inconvenience that in so captious a season might thereby have befallen the king's service; yet it cannot be thought unreasonable to preserve this memorial of all the circumstances, as well as the substantial reasons, which disposed him to make that flight, for the clear information of those,

1667. who in a fit season may understand his innocence without any inconvenience to his majesty, of whose goodness and honour and justice it may be hoped, that his majesty himself will give his own testimony, both of this particular of his withdrawing, and a vindication of his innocence from all the other reproaches with which it was aspersed.

An instance of his generous behaviour to his enemies.

I will not omit one other particular, for the manifestation of the inequality that was between the nature of the chancellor and of his enemies, and upon what disadvantage he was to contend with them. Before the meeting of the parliament, when it was well known that the combination was entered into by the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor, several members of the house informed him of what they did and what they said, and told him, "that there was but one way to pre- "vent the prejudice intended towards him, which "was by falling first upon them; which they would "cause to be done, if he would assist them with "such information as it could not but be in his "power to do. That they were both very odious "generally: the one for his insolent carriage towards "all men, and for the manner of his getting in to "that office by dispossessing an old faithful servant, "who was forced to part with it for a very good "recompense of ten thousand pounds in money and "other releases and grants, which was paid and "made by the king to introduce a secretary of very "mean parts, and without industry to improve them, "and one who was generally suspected to be a pa- "pist, or without any religion at all; it being gene- "rally taken notice of, that he was rarely seen in a "church, and never known to receive the commu-

" nion. The other was known by his corrupt be- 1667.
" haviour, and selling all the offices in the fleet and
" navy for incredible sums of money, and thereby
" introducing men, who had been most employed
" and trusted by Cromwell, into the several offices;
" whilst loyal and faithful seamen who had always
" adhered to the king, and many of them continued
" in his service abroad and till his return into Eng-
" land, could not be admitted into any employment:
" the ill consequence of which to the king's service
" was very notorious, by the daily manifest stealing
" and embezzling the stores of ammunition, cord-
" age, sails, and other tackling, which were com-
" monly sold again to the king at great prices.
" And when the persons guilty of this were taken
" notice of and apprehended, they talked loudly of
" the sums they had paid for their offices, which
" obliged them to those frauds: and that it might
" not be more notorious, they were, by sir William
" Coventry's great power and interest, never pro-
" ceeded against, or removed from their offices and
" employments."

They told him, " that he never said or did any
" thing in the most secret council, where they two
" were always present, and where there were fre-
" quent occasions of mentioning the proceedings of
" both houses, and the behaviour of several mem-
" bers in both, but those gentlemen declared the
" same, and all that he said or did, to those who
" would be most offended and incensed by it, and
" who were like in some conjuncture to be able to
" do him most mischief: and by those ill arts they
" had irreconciled many persons to him. And that
" if he would now, without its being possible to be

1667. "taken notice of, give them such information and "light into the proceedings of those gentlemen, they "would undertake to divert the storm that threat- "ened him, and cause it to fall upon the others." And this was with much earnestness pressed to him, not only before the meeting of the parliament, and when he was fully informed of the ill arts and ungentlemanly practice those two persons were engaged in to do him hurt, but after the house of commons was incensed against him; with a full assurance, "that they were much inclined to have accused the "other two, if the least occasion was given for it."

But the chancellor would not be prevailed with, saying, "that no[p] provocation or example should "dispose him to do any thing that would not be- "come him: that they were both privy counsellors, "and trusted by the king in his most weighty af- "fairs; and if he discerned any thing amiss in them, "he could inform the king of it. But the aspersing "or accusing them any where else was not his part "to do, nor could it be done by any without some "reflection upon the king and duke, who would be "much offended at it: and therefore he advised "them in no degree to make any such attempt on "his behalf; but to leave him to the protection of "his own innocence and of God's good pleasure, and "those gentlemen to their own fate, which at some "time would humble them." And it is known to many persons, and possibly to the king himself, for whose service only that office was performed, that one or both those persons had before that time been impeached, if the chancellor's sole industry and interest had not diverted and prevented it.

[p] no] *Omitted in MS.*

When the chancellor found it necessary, for the reasons aforesaid, to withdraw himself, he thought it as necessary to leave some address to the house of peers, and to make as good an excuse as he could for his absence without asking their leave; which should be delivered to them by some member of their body, (there being many of them ready to perform that civil office for him,) when his absence should be known, or some evidence that he was safely arrived on the other side of the sea. And that time being come, (for the packet boat was ready to depart when the chancellor landed at Calais,) the earl of Denbigh said, "he had an address "to the house from the earl of Clarendon, which "he desired might be read;" which contained these words. 1667.

The chancellor's apology to the house of lords for withdrawing.

"*To the right honourable the lords spiritual and "temporal in parliament assembled; the humble "petition and address of Edward earl of "Clarendon.*

"May it please your lordships,

"I cannot express the insupportable trouble and "grief of mind I sustain, under the apprehension of "being misrepresented to your lordships; and when "I hear how much of your lordships' time hath been "spent upon my poor concern, (though it be of no "less than of my life and fortune,) and of the dif-"ferences in opinion which have already or may "probably arise between your lordships and the ho-"nourable house of commons; whereby the great and "weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obstructed "in a time of so general a dissatisfaction.

1667. "I am very unfortunate to find myself to suffer so "much under two very disadvantageous reflections, "which are in no degree applicable to me: the first, "from the greatness of my estate and fortune, col- "lected and made in so few years; which, if it be "proportionable to what is reported, may very rea- "sonably cause my integrity to be suspected. The "second, that I have been the sole manager and "chief minister in all the transactions of state since "the king's return into England to August last; "and therefore that all miscarriages and misfor- "tunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my "counsels.

"Concerning my estate, your lordships will not "believe, that after malice and envy hath been so "inquisitive, and is so sharpsighted, I will offer any "thing to your lordships but what is exactly true: "and I do assure your lordships in the first place, "that, excepting from the king's bounty, I have "never received or taken one penny, but what was "generally understood to be the just and lawful "perquisites of my office by the constant practice of "the best times, which I did in my own judgment "conceive to be that of my lord Coventry and my "lord Ellesmere, the practice of which I constantly "observed; although the office in both their times "was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, "and I believe now is.

"That all the courtesies and favours, which I "have been able to obtain from the king for other "persons in church or state or in Westminster-hall, "have never been worth me five pound: so that "your lordships may be confident I am as innocent "from corruption, as from any disloyal thought;

" which, after near thirty years' service of the crown 1667.
" in some difficulties and distresses, I did never sus-
" pect would have been objected to me in my age.

" That I am at present indebted about three or
" four and twenty thousand pounds, for which I pay
" interest; the particulars whereof I shall be ready
" to offer to your lordships, and for which I have
" assigned lands and leases to be sold, though at
" present nobody will buy or sell with me. That
" I am so far from having money, that from the
" time the seal was taken from me I have lived upon
" the coining some small parcels of plate, which
" have sustained me and my family, all my rents
" being withheld from me.

" That my estate, my debts being paid, will not
" yield me two thousand pounds per annum, for the
" support of myself, and providing for two young
" children, who have nothing: and that all I have
" is not worth what the king in his bounty hath
" bestowed upon me, his majesty having out of his
" royal bounty, within few months after his coming
" into England, at one time bestowed upon me
" twenty thousand pounds in ready money, without
" the least motion or imagination of mine; and,
" shortly after, another sum of money, amounting to
" six thousand pounds or thereabouts, out of Ireland,
" which ought to have amounted to a much greater
" proportion, and of which I never heard word, till
" notice was given me by the earl of Orrery that
" there was such a sum of money for me. His ma-
" jesty likewise assigned me, after the first year of
" his return, an annual supply towards my support,
" which did but defray my expenses, the certain
" profits of my office not amounting to above two

1667. "thousand pounds a year or thereabouts, and the "perquisites not very considerable and very uncer- "tain: so that the said several sums of money, and "some parcels of land his majesty bestowed upon "me, are worth more than all I have amounts to. "So far I am from advancing my estate by any indi- "rect means. And though this bounty of his majesty "hath very far exceeded my merit or my expecta- "tion; yet some others have been as fortunate at "least in the same bounty, who had as small pre- "tences to it, and have no great reason to envy my "good fortune.

"Concerning the other imputation, of the credit "and power of being chief minister, and so causing "all to be done that I had a mind to; I have no "more to say, than that I had the good fortune to "serve a master of a very great judgment and un- "derstanding, and to be always joined with persons "of great ability and experience, without whose ad- "vice and concurrence never any thing hath been "done. Before his majesty's coming into England, "he was constantly attended by the then marquis "of Ormond, the late lord Colepepper, and Mr. Se- "cretary Nicholas; who were equally trusted with "myself, and without whose joint advice and con- "currence, when they were all present, (as some of "them always were,) I never gave any counsel.

"As soon as it pleased God to bring his majesty "into England, he established his privy-council, and "shortly out of them a number of honourable per- "sons of great reputation, who for the most part "are still alive, as a committee for foreign affairs, "and consideration of such things as in the nature "of them required much secrecy; and with these

" persons he vouchsafed to join me. And I am con- 1667.
" fident this committee never transacted any thing
" of moment, his majesty being always present,
" without presenting the same first to the council-
" board: and I must appeal to them concerning
" my carriage, and whether we were not all of one
" mind in all matters of importance. For more
" than two years I never knew any difference in the
" councils, or that there were any complaints in the
" kingdom; which I wholly impute to his majesty's
" great wisdom, and the entire concurrence of his
" council, without the vanity of assuming any thing
" to myself: and therefore I hope I shall not be
" singly charged with any thing that hath since
" fallen out amiss. But from the time that Mr.
" Secretary Nicholas was removed from his place,
" there were great alterations; and whosoever knows
" any thing of the court or councils, knows well how
" much my credit since that time hath been dimi-
" nished, though his majesty graciously vouchsafed
" still to hear my advice in most of his affairs. Nor
" hath there been, from that time to this, above one
" or two persons brought to the council, or preferred
" to any considerable office in the court, who have
" been of my intimate acquaintance, or suspected to
" have any kindness for me; and many of them no-
" toriously known to have been very long my ene-
" mies, and of different judgment and principles
" from me both in church and state, and who have
" taken all opportunities to lessen my credit to the
" king, and with all other persons, by misrepresent-
" ing and misreporting all that I said or did, and
" persuading men that I had done them some pre-
" judice with his majesty, or crossed them in some

1667. " of their pretences; though his majesty's goodness
" and justice was such, that it made little impres-
" sion upon him.

" In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes of
" the kingdom have proceeded from the war, to
" which it is notoriously known that I was always
" averse; and may without vanity say, I did not only
" foresee, but did declare the mischiefs we should
" run into, by entering into a war before any alli-
" ance made with the neighbour princes. And that
" it may not be imputed to his majesty's want of
" care, or the negligence of his counsellors, that no
" such alliances were entered into; I must take the
" boldness to say, that his majesty left nothing un-
" attempted in order thereunto: and knowing very
" well, that France resolved to begin a war upon
" Spain, as soon as his catholic majesty should de-
" part this world, (which being much sooner expected
" by them, they had two winters before been at great
" charge in providing plentiful magazines of all pro-
" visions upon the frontiers, that they might be
" ready for the war,) his majesty used all possible
" means to prepare and dispose the Spaniard to that
" apprehension, offering his friendship to that de-
" gree, as might be for the security and benefit of
" both crowns. But Spain flattering itself with an
" opinion that France would not break with them,
" at least, that they would not give them any cause
" by administering matter of jealousy to them, never
" made any real approach towards a friendship with
" his majesty; but both by their ambassador here,
" and to his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, always
" insisted, as preliminaries, upon the giving up of
" Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

"Though France had an ambassador here, to 1667.
"whom a project for a treaty was offered, and the
"lord Hollis, his majesty's ambassador at Paris, used
"all endeavours to promote and prosecute the said
"treaty: yet it was quickly discerned, that the
"principal design of France was to draw his ma-
"jesty into such a nearer alliance as might advance
"their designs; without which they had no mind
"to enter into the treaty proposed. And this was
"the state of affairs when the war was entered into
"with the Dutch, from which time neither crown
"much considered their making an alliance with
"England.

"As I did from my soul abhor the entering into
"this war, so I never presumed to give any advice
"or counsel for the way of managing it, but by
"opposing many propositions which seemed to the
"late lord treasurer and myself to be unreasonable;
"as the payment of the seamen by tickets, and many
"other particulars which added to the expense.
"My enemies took all occasions to inveigh against
"me: and making friendship with others out of the
"council of more licentious principles, and who knew
"well enough how much I disliked and complained
"of the liberty they took to themselves of reviling
"all councils and counsellors, and turning all things
"serious and sacred into ridicule; they took all
"ways imaginable to render me ingrateful to all
"sorts of men, (whom I shall be compelled to name
"in my own defence,) persuading those who mis-
"carried in any of their designs, that it was the
"chancellor's doing; whereof I never knew any
"thing. However, they could not withdraw the
"king's favour from me, who was still pleased to

1667. "use my service with others; nor was there ever
"any thing done but upon the joint advice of at
"least the major part of those who were consulted
"with. And as his majesty commanded my ser-
"vice in the late treaties, so I never gave the least
"advice in private, nor writ one letter to any per-
"son in either of those negotiations, but upon the
"advice of the council, and after it was read in
"council, or at least by the king himself and some
"others: and if I prepared any instructions or me-
"morials, it was by the king's command, and the
"request of the secretaries, who desired my assist-
"ance. Nor was it any wish of my own, that any
"ambassadors should give me an account of the
"transactions, but to the secretaries, with whom I
"was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious
"to myself of having ever given advice that hath
"proved mischievous or inconvenient to his majesty.
"And I have been so far from being the sole man-
"ager of affairs, that I have not in the whole last
"year been above twice with his majesty in any
"room alone, and very seldom in the two or three
"years preceding. And since the parliament at
"Oxford, it hath been very visible that my credit
"hath been very little, and that very few things
"have been hearkened to which have been proposed
"by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, because pro-
"posed by me.

"I most humbly beseech your lordships to re-
"member the office and trust I had for seven years;
"in which, in discharge of my duty, I was obliged
"to stop and obstruct many men's pretences, and to
"refuse to set the seal to many pardons and other
"grants, which would have been profitable to those

" who procured them, and many whereof, upon my 1667.
" representation to his majesty, were for ever
" stopped; which naturally have raised many ene-
" mies to me. And my frequent concurring with
" the late lord treasurer, with whom I had the ho-
" nour to have a long and a fast friendship to his
" death, in representing several excesses and exor-
" bitances, (the yearly issues so far exceeding the
" revenue,) provoked many persons concerned, of
" great power and credit, to do me all the ill offices
" they could. And yet I may faithfully say, that I
" never meddled with any part of the revenue or
" the administration of it, but when I was desired
" by the late lord treasurer to give him my assist-
" ance and advice, (having had the honour formerly to
" serve the crown as chancellor of the exchequer,)
" which was for the most part in his majesty's pre-
" sence: nor have I ever been in the least degree
" concerned in point of profit in the letting any part
" of his majesty's revenue, nor have ever treated or
" debated it but in his majesty's presence: in which,
" my opinion concurred always with the major part
" of the counsellors who were present. All which,
" upon examination, will be made manifest to your
" lordships, how much soever my integrity is blasted
" by the malice of those, who I am confident do not
" believe themselves. Nor have I in my life, upon
" all the treaties or otherwise, received the value of
" one shilling from all the kings and princes in the
" world, (except the books of the Louvre print sent
" me by the chancellor of France by that king's di-
" rection,) but from my own master; to whose entire
" service, and to the good and welfare of my coun-
" try, no man's heart was ever more devoted.

1667. "This being my present condition, I do most "humbly beseech your lordships to retain a favour- "able opinion of me, and to believe me to be inno- "cent from those foul aspersions, until the contrary "shall be proved; which I am sure can never be by "any man worthy to be believed. And since the "distemper of the time, and the difference between "the two houses in the present debate, with the "power and malice of my enemies, who give out, "that I shall prevail with his majesty to prorogue "or dissolve this parliament in displeasure, and "threaten to expose me to the rage and fury of the "people, may make me looked upon as the cause "which obstructs the king's service, and the unity "and peace of the kingdom; I must humbly be- "seech your lordships, that I may not forfeit your "lordships' favour and protection, by withdrawing "myself from so powerful a persecution; in hopes "I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to "appear, and make my defence; when his majesty's "justice, to which I shall always submit, may not "be obstructed nor controlled by the power and "malice of those who have sworn my destruction."

The chancellor knew very well, that there were members enough in both houses who would be very glad to take any advantage of his words and expressions: and therefore as he weighed them the best he could himself in the short time from which he took his resolution to be gone; so he consulted with as many friends as that time would allow, to the end that their jealousy and wariness might better watch, that no expression might be liable to a sinister interpretation, than his own passion and indisposition

could provide. And as they all thought it necessary 1667.
that he should leave somewhat behind him, that might offer an excuse for his absence; so they did not conceive, that the words before mentioned could give any offence to equal judges. But the least variety or change of wind moved those waters to wonderful distempers and tempests.

This address was no sooner read, by which they perceived he was gone, but they who had contributed most to the absenting himself, and were privy to all the promises which had invited him to it, seemed much troubled that he had escaped their justice; and moved, "that orders might be forthwith sent to "stop the ports, that so he might be apprehended;" when they well knew that he was landed at Calais. Others took exceptions at some expressions, "which," they said, "reflected upon the king's honour and jus-"tice:" others moved, "that it might be entered in "their Journal Book, to the end that they might "further consider of it when they should think fit;" and this was ordered.

The houses till this time had continued obstinate in their several resolutions; the commons every day pressing, "that he might be committed upon "their general accusation of treason," (for though they had amongst themselves and from their committee offered those particulars which are mentioned before, yet they presented none to the house of peers;) and the lords as positively refusing to commit him, till some charge should be presented against him that amounted to treason. But now all that debate was at an end by his being out of their reach, so that they pursued that point no further; which, being matter of privilege, should have been

1667. determined as necessarily as before, for the prevention of the like disputes hereafter. But the commons wisely declined that contention, well knowing that their party in the house, that was very passionate for the commitment of the chancellor, would be as much against the general order as any of the rest had been: and the lords satisfied themselves with sending a message to the house of commons, "that they found by the address which they had "received that morning, and which they likewise "imparted to them, that the earl of Clarendon had "withdrawn himself; and so there was no further "occasion of debate upon that point."

The apology burned by order of both houses.

The address was no sooner read in that house, but they who had industriously promoted the former resolution[q] were inflamed, as if this very instrument would contribute enough to any thing that was wanting; and they severally arraigned it, and inveighed against the person who had sent it with all imaginable bitterness and insolence: whilst others, who could not in the hearing it read observe that malignity that it was accused of, sat still and silent, as if they suspected that somewhat had escaped their observations and discovery, that so much transported other men; or because they were well pleased that a person, against whom there was so much malice and fury professed, was got out of their reach. In conclusion, after long debate it was concluded, "that the paper contained much untruth and scan-"dal and sedition in it, and that it should be pub-"licly burned by the hand of the hangman;" which vote they presently sent to the lords for their con-

[q] resolution] reason

currence, who, though they had not observed any such guilt in it before, would maintain no further contests with them, and so concurred in the sentence: and the poor paper was accordingly with solemnity executed by the appointed officer, which made the more people inquisitive into the contents of it; and having gotten copies of it, they took upon them to censure the thing and the person with much more clemency and compassion, and thought he had done well to decline such angry judges. 1667.

When the chancellor found himself at Calais, he was unresolved how to dispose of himself, only that he would not go to Paris, against which he was able to make many objections: and in this irresolution he knew not how to send any directions to his children in England, to what place they should send his servants and such other accommodations as he should want; and therefore stayed there till he might be better informed, and know somewhat of the temper of the parliament. In the mean time he writ letters to the earl of St. Alban's at Paris, from whose very late professions he had reason to expect civility, and that was all he did expect; never imagining that he should receive any grace from the queen, or that it was fit for him to cast himself at her feet, whilst he was in his majesty's displeasure. Only he desired to know, "whether there would be any objection against his coming to Roan," and desiring, "if there were no objection against it, that a coach "might be hired to meet him on such a day at Abbeville." The lieutenant governor of Calais had, upon his first arrival there, given advertisement to the court of it: and by the same post that he received a very dry letter from the earl of St. Alban's,

The chancellor writes to the French court for leave to remove to Roan:

1667. in which he said, "he thought that court would ap-
"prove of his coming to Roan;" he received likewise a letter of great civility from the count de Louvois, secretary of state, in which he congratu-
Which is granted. lated his safe arrival in France, and told him, "that "his majesty was well pleased with it, and with his "purpose of coming to Roan, where he should find "himself very welcome." At the same time letters were sent to the lieutenant governor of Calais, Boulogne, and Montrevil, "to treat him as a person of "whom the king had esteem, and to give him such "an escort as might make his journey secure;" of all which he received advertisement, and, "that a "coach would be ready at Abbeville to wait for him "at the day he had appointed."

He begins his journey: And now he thought he might well take his resolution; and thereupon gave direction, "that such of "his family, whose attendance he could not be well "without, might with all expedition be with him at "Roan; and such monies might be likewise return-"ed thither for him, as were necessary," for he had not brought with him supply enough for long time. And so he provided to leave Calais, that he might be warm in his winter-quarters as soon as might be, which both the season of the year, it being now within few days of Christmas, and his expectation of a speedy defluxion of the gout, made very requisite. When he came to Boulogne, he found orders from the marshal D'Aumont to his lieutenant for a guard to Montrevil, the Spanish garrisons making frequent incursions into those quarters: and at Montrevil the duke D'Elbœuf visited him, and invited him to supper, which the chancellor was so much tired with his journey that he accepted not;

but was not suffered to refuse his coach the next day to Abbeville, where he found a coach from Paris ready to carry him to Roan. 1667.

It was Christmas-eve when he came to Dieppe, and it was a long journey the next day to Roan; which made him send to the governor, to desire that the ports might be open much sooner than their hour, which was granted: so that he came to a very ill inn, well known at Tostes, near the middle way to Roan, about noon. And when he was within view of that place, a gentleman, passing by in a good gallop with a couple of servants, asked, "whether the chancellor of England was in that "coach;" and being answered, "that he was," he alighted at the coach-side, and gave him a letter from the king, which contained only credit to what that gentleman, monsieur le Fonde, his servant in ordinary, should say to him from his majesty. The gentleman, after some expressions of his majesty's grace and good opinion, told him, "that the king "had lately received advertisement from his envoy "in England, that the parliament there was so "much incensed against him, the chancellor, that if "he should be suffered to stay in France, it would "be so prejudicial to the affairs of his Christian ma-"jesty, (to whom he was confident the chancellor "wished well,) that it might make a breach between "the two crowns; and therefore he desired him to "make what speed he could out of his dominions; "and that he might want no accommodation for his "journey, that gentleman was to accompany him, "till he saw him out of France."

But receives on the way orders to leave France instantly.

He was marvellously struck with this encounter, which he looked not for, nor could resolve what to

1667. do, being at liberty to make his journey which way he would so he rested not, which was the only thing he desired: so he desired the gentleman (for all this conversation was in the highway) "to come "into the coach, and to accompany him to Roan, "where they would confer further." The gentleman, though he was a very civil person, seemed to think that it would be better to return to Dieppe, and so to Calais, as the shortest way out of France: but he had no commission to urge that, and so condescended to go that night to Roan; with a declaration, "that it was necessary for him to be the "next day very early in the coach, which way "soever he intended to make his journey."

It was late in the night before they reached Roan: and the coach was overthrown three times in the gentleman's sight, who chose to ride his horse; so that the chancellor was really hurt and bruised, and scarce able to set his foot to the ground. And therefore he told the gentleman plainly, "that he could not make any journey the "next day: but that he would presently write to "Paris to a friend, who should inform the king of "the ill condition he was in, and desire some time "of rest; and that as soon as he had finished his "letter, he would send an express with it, who "should make all possible haste in going and com-"ing." Monsieur le Fonde assured him, "the mat-"ter was so fully resolved, that no writing would "procure any time to stay in France; and therefore "desired him to hasten his journey, which way so-"ever he intended it." But when he saw there was no remedy, he likewise writ to the court, and the chancellor to the earl of St. Alban's, from whom

He represents his ill state of health to the court.

he thought he should receive offices of humanity, and to another friend, upon whose affection he more depended: and with those letters the express was despatched. 1667.

The occasion of his ill treatment in France.

They who had prevailed so far against him in England were not yet satisfied, but contrived those ways to disquiet him as much in France, by telling monsieur Ruvigny, (who was too easily disposed to believe them,) "that the parliament was so much of-"fended with the chancellor, that it would never "consent that the king should enter into a close "and firm alliance with France," which it was his business to solicit, "whilst he should be permitted "to stay within that kingdom:" when in truth all the malice against him was contained within the breasts of few men, who by incensing the king, and infusing many false and groundless relations into him, drew such a numerous party to contribute to their ends.

Proceedings against him in England.

When he was now gone, they observed to the king, "what a great faction there was in both "houses that adhered to the chancellor," who were called Clarendonians; and when any opposition was made to any thing that was proposed, as frequently there was, "it was always done by the Clarendon-"ians:" whose condition they thought was not desperate enough, except they proceeded further than was yet done. They laboured with all their power, that he might be attainted of high treason by act of parliament, and that both his sons might be removed from the court: both which, notwithstanding all their importunity, his majesty positively refused to consent to. Then they told him, "that the chancel-"lor only waited the season that the parliament

1667. "should be confirmed in ill humour, to which they "were inclined; and then he would return and sit "in the house to disturb all their counsels, and "obstruct all his service: and therefore they pro- "posed, since he had fled from the hand of jus- "tice, that there could be no more prosecution for "his guilt," (which was untrue, for they might as well have proceeded and proved the crimes objected against him if they could,) "a bill of banishment," which they had prepared, "might be brought in "against him;" which his majesty consented to, notwithstanding all that the duke of York urged to the contrary upon the king's promise to him, and which had only betrayed the chancellor to making his escape. But the king alleged, "that the conde- "scension was necessary for his good, and to com- "pound with those who would else press that which "would be more mischievous to him."

A bill of banishment passed against him.

Whereupon a bill for his banishment was preferred, only upon his having declined the proceeding of justice by his flight, without so much as endeavouring to prove one of the crimes they had charged upon him: and this bill was passed by the two houses, and confirmed by the king; of whom they had yet so much jealousy, that they left it not in his power to pardon him without the consent of the two houses of parliament. And this act was to be absolute, "except by a day appointed," (which was so short, that it was hardly possible for him to comply with it, except he could have rode post,) "he should ap- "pear before one of the secretaries of state, or deli- "ver himself to the lieutenant of the Tower, who "was to detain him in custody till he had acquaint- "ed the parliament with it: in the mean time no

" person was to presume to hold any correspondence 1667.
" with him, or to write to him, except his own chil-
" dren or his menial servants, who were obliged to
" shew the letters which they sent or received to
" one of the secretaries of state."

The express that had been sent to Paris return- He receives orders a second time to quit France.
ed with reiterated orders to monsieur le Fonde to hasten the chancellor's journey, and not to suffer him to remain there; who executed the commands he had received with great punctuality and importunity. The earl of St. Alban's did not vouchsafe to return any answer to his letter, or to interpose on his behalf, that he might rest till he might securely enter upon his journey: only abbot Mountague writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the offices could be in his power to perform, and excused the rigour of the court's proceedings, as the effect of such reason of state, as would not permit any alteration whilst they had that apprehension of the parliament; and therefore advised him " to comply with their wishes, " and make no longer stay in Roan, which would " not be permitted." But the general indisposition of his body, the fatigue of his journey, and the bruises he had received by the falls and overturnings of the coach, made him not able to rise out of his bed; and the physicians, who had taken much blood from him, exceedingly dissuaded it. All which, how visible soever, prevailed not with his French conductor to lessen his importunity that he would go, though it was evident he could not easily stand; of which no doubt he gave true and faithful advertisement to the court, though the jealousy of being not thought active enough in his trust made

1667. his behaviour much less civil, than is agreeable to the custom of that nation.

He again represents his ill state of health to the French court;

However, the chancellor, hardened by the inhumanity of his treatment, writ such a letter in Latin to monsieur de Lionne, by whose hand all the ungentle orders to monsieur le Fonde had been transmitted, as expressed the condition he was in, and his disability to comply with his majesty's commands, until he could recover more strength; not without complaint of the little civility he had received in France. And he writ likewise to the abbot Mountague, "to use his credit with monsieur de "Tellier," upon whose humanity he more depended, "to interpose with his Christian majesty, that he "might not be pressed beyond what his health "would bear." And since at that time he resolved to make his journey to Avignon, that he might be out of the dominions of France, he desired, "that he "might have liberty to rest some days at Orleans, "until his servants who were upon the sea, and "brought with them many things which he wanted, "might come to him; and that he might afterwards, in so long a journey in the worst season of "the year, have liberty to take such repose as his "health would require; in which he could not affect unnecessary delay, for the great charge and "expense it must be accompanied with."

1668. But receives fresh orders to remove immediately.

The answer he received from monsieur de Lionne was the renewing the king's commands for his speedy departure, "as a thing absolutely necessary to his affairs," and which must not be disputed." But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the sight of a billet which abbot Mountague sent to him,

that he had received from monsieur de Tellier, in which he said, "that he had, according to his desire, "moved his Christian majesty concerning the chan- "cellor of England; and that his majesty was much "displeased that he made not more haste to comply "with what was most necessary for his affairs, and "that it must be no longer delayed; and that if he "chose to pass to Avignon, he might rest one day in "ten, which was all his majesty would allow." 1668.

This unexpected determination, without the least ceremony or circumstance of remorse, signified by a person who he was well assured was well inclined to have returned a more grateful answer, in the instant suppressed all hopes of finding any humanity in France, and raised a resolution in him to get out of those dominions with all the expedition that was possible: which his French conductor urged with new and importunate instance; insomuch as though there was sure information, that the ship, in which the chancellor's servants and goods were embarked, was arrived at the mouth of the river, and only kept by the cross wind from coming up to the town; he would by no means consent to the delay[r] of one day in expectation of it, or that his servants might come to him by land, as he had sent to them to do.

At this very time arrived an express, a servant of his, sent by his children, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament, and of the bill of banishment; of nothing of which he had before heard, and upon which the duke of York, who looked upon himself as ill used by that prosecution, was of opinion, "that the chancellor should make all

[r] delay] stay

1668. "possible haste, and appear by the day appointed, "and undergo the trial, in which he knew his inno- "cence would justify him." This advice, with a little indignation at the discourtesy of the court of France, diverted him from any further thought of Avignon. And though he did not imagine that his strength would be sufficient to perform the journey by the day assigned, (for the gout had already seized upon both his feet,) nor did the arguments for his return satisfy him; and the breach of all the promises which had been made was no sign that they meant speedily to bring him to trial, towards which they had not yet made any preparation: yet he resolved to make all possible haste to Calais, that it might be in his power to proceed according to such directions as he might reasonably expect to receive there from his friends from England, and from whence he might quickly remove into the Spanish dominions; though the climate of Flanders, well known to him, terrified him in respect of the season and his approaching gout. And with this resolution he despatched the express again for England; and left order with a merchant at Roan, "to receive his "goods when the ship should arrive, and detain "both them and his servants till he should send fur- "ther orders from Calais:" and at the same time he writ to a friend in Flanders, to speak to the marquis of Carracena, with whom he had formerly held a fair correspondence, "to send him a pass to go "through that country to what place he should "think fit." And having thus provided for his journey, he departed from Roan, after he had remained there about twenty days.

He returns to Calais; In how ill a condition of health soever he was to

travel, when the days were at shortest, he resolved to make no stay till he should reach Calais, to the end, that if he met with no advice there to the contrary, he might be at London by the day limited by the proclamation, which was the first of February that style: and it was the last of January the French style when he arrived at Calais, so broken with the fatigue of the journey and the defluxion of the gout, that he could not move but as he was carried, and was so put into a bed; and the next morning the physicians found him in a fever, and thought it necessary to open a vein, which they presently did. But the pains in all his limbs so increased, that he was not able to turn in his bed; nor for many nights closed his eyes. Many letters he found there from England, but was not in a condition to read them, nor in truth could speak and discourse with any body. Monsieur le Fonde, out of pure compassion, suffered him to remain some days without his vexation, until he received fresh orders from Paris, "that the chancellor might not, "in what case soever, be suffered to remain in Ca- "lais:" and then he renewed his importunity, "that he would the next day leave the town, and "either by sea or land, if he thought it not fit to "pass for England, put himself into the Spanish "dominions, which he might do in few hours."

1668.

Where he is confined to his bed by a dangerous illness:

Yet he is required to retire out of the French territories.

He was so confounded with the barbarity, that he had no mind to give him any answer; nor could he suddenly find words, their conversation being in Latin, to express the passion he was in. At last he told him, "that he must bring orders from God Al- "mighty as well as from the king, before he could "obey: that he saw the condition he was in, and

1668. " conferred every day with his physicians, by which " he could not but know, that he could neither help " himself, nor endure the being carried out of that " chamber, if the house were in a flame; and there- " fore that he did not use him like a gentleman, in " adding his unreasonable importunities to the vex- " ation he suffered by pain and sickness. That he " might be very confident, his treatment had not " been so obliging to make him stay one hour in " France, after he should be able to go out of it: " but he would not willingly endanger himself by " sea to fall into the hands of his enemies. That " he knew" (for he had shewed him his letter) " that he had written into Flanders for a pass, " which was not yet come: as soon as it did, if he " could procure a litter and endure the motion of it, " he would remove to St. Omer's or Newport, which " were the nearest places under the Spanish govern- " ment."

To all which he replied with no excess of courtesy, " that he must and would obey his orders as he had " done; and that he had no power to judge of his " disability to remove, or of the pain he under- " went." And there is no doubt the gentleman, who was well bred, and in his nature very civil, was not pleased with his province, and much troubled that he could not avoid the delivery of the orders he received: and the conjuncture of their affairs was such, with reference to the designs then on foot, that every post brought reiterated commands for the chancellor's remove; which grew every day more impossible, by the access of new pain to the weakness he was in for want of sleep without any kind of sustenance.

Notwithstanding which, within few days after the last encounter, upon fresh letters from monsieur de Lionne, the gentleman came again to him, told him what orders he had received, and again proposed, "that he would either make use of a boat to "Newport or Ostend, or a brancard to St. Omer's; "either of which he would cause to be provided "against the next morning, for the king's service "was exceedingly concerned in the expedition." And when he saw the other was not moved with what he said, nor gave him any answer, he told him plainly, "that the king would be obeyed in his "own dominions; and if he would not choose to do "that which the king had required, he must go to "the governor, who had authority and power to "compel him, which he durst not but do." Upon which, with the supply of spirit that choler administered to him, he told him, "that though the king "was a very great and powerful prince, he was not "yet so omnipotent, as to make a dying man strong "enough to undertake a journey. That he was at "the king's mercy, and would endure what he "should exact from him as well as he was able: it "was in his majesty's power to send him a prisoner "into England, or to cause him to be carried dead "or alive into the Spanish territories; but he would "not be *felo de se*, by willingly attempting to do "what he and all who saw him knew was not possi-"ble for him to perform." And in this passion he added some words of reproach to le Fonde, which were more due to monsieur de Lionne, who in truth had not behaved himself with any civility: whereupon he withdrew in the like disorder, and for

1668.

1668. some days forbore so much as to see him, in which he had never before failed a day.

And the chancellor, who really did believe that some force and violence would be used towards him, presently sent to desire the chief magistrates of the town and the lieutenant governor to come to him; and then told them all the treatment he had received from monsieur le Fonde, and appealed to them, "whether they thought him in a condition to per-"form any journey." And the physicians being likewise present, he required them to sign such a certificate and testimony of his sickness as they thought their duty, which they readily performed; very fully declaring under their hands, "that he "could not be removed out of the chamber in which "he lay, without manifest danger of his life." And the lieutenant governor and the president of justice seemed much scandalized at what had been so much pressed, of which they had taken notice many days: and the one of them wrote to the count of Charrou, governor of the town and then at court, and the other to monsieur de Lionne, what they thought fit; and the certificate of the physicians was enclosed to the abbot Mountague, with a full relation of what had passed. And it was never doubted, but that monsieur le Fonde himself made a very faithful relation of the impossibility that the chancellor could comply with what was required, in the state of sickness and pain that he was in at present.

The French court suddenly alters its behaviour.

By this time the French court discovered, that they were prevented of entering into that strait alliance they hoped with England, (and for obtaining whereof they had gratified the proud and malicious

humours of the duke of Buckingham and lord Arlington in the treatment of the chancellor,) by the triple league, which they had used all those compliances to prevent: so that by the next post after the receipt of the certificate from the physicians, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the chancellor, in which he protested, "that he had the "same respect for him which he had always pro- "fessed to have in his greatest fortune, and that it "was never in the purpose of his Christian majesty "to endanger his health by making any journey that "he could not well endure; and therefore that it "was left entirely to himself to remove from Calais "when he thought fit, and to go to what place he "would." And monsieur le Fonde came now again to visit him with another countenance, by which a man could not but discern, that he was much better pleased with the commission he had received last, than with the former; and told him, "that he was "now to receive no orders but from himself, which "he would gladly obey." 1668.

He has leave to reside in France.

This gave him some little ease in the agony he was in, for his pains increased to an intolerable degree, insomuch that he could not rise out of his bed in six weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, because at the same time he received an account from his friend in Flanders, "that the marquis "of Castille Roderigo, with as much regret as a "civil man could express, protested, that the fear he "had of offending the parliament at that time would "not permit him to grant a pass: but if he would "come to Newport, he should find the governor "there well prepared and disposed to shew him all "possible respect, and to accommodate him in his

1668. " passage throughout the country, where it would " not be convenient for him to make any stay: and " that he looked upon it as a great misfortune to " himself, that he might not wait upon him in his " passage." This made it easy for him to discern, that his enemies would not give him any rest in any place where their malice could reach him: and since they were so terrible that the marquis of Castille Roderigo durst not grant him a pass, he thought it would be no hard matter for them to cause some affront to be put on him when he should be without any pass; though he had not the least suspicion of the marquis's failing in point of honour or courtesy.

At the same time he received advice from his friends in England, " that the storm from France " was over, and that he might be permitted to stay " in any part thereof; and for the present they " wished that he would repair to the waters of Bour- " bon for his health, and then choose such a place " to reside in, as upon inquiry he should judge most " proper." But he was not yet so far reconciled to that court, though he liked the climate well, as to depend upon its protection: and therefore he resumed his former purpose of going to Avignon, and, if he could recover strength for the journey before the season should be expired for drinking the waters of Bourbon to pass that way. And to that purpose he sent to the court " for a pass to Avignon, with " liberty to stay some days at Roan," where his goods and his monies were, (for his servants had come from thence to him to Calais,) " and to use the wa- " ters of Bourbon in his way:" all which was readily granted.

It was the third of April, before he recovered strength enough to endure a coach: and then, having bought a large and easy coach of the president of Calais, he hired horses there. And so he begun his journey for Roan, being still so lame and weak that he could not go without being supported: and the first day had a very ill omen by the negligence of the coachman, who passing upon the sands between Calais and Boulogne, when the sea was flowing, drove so unadvisedly, (which he might have avoided, as the horsemen and another coach did,) that the sea came over the boot of the coach, to the middle of all those who sat in it; and a minute's pause more had inevitably overthrown the coach, (the weight whereof only then prevented it,) and they had been all covered with the sea. And two days after, by the change of the coachman for a worse, he was overthrown in a place almost as bad, into a deep and dirty water, from whence he was with difficulty and some hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful deliverances were comfortable instances that God would protect him, of which he had within few days a fresh and extraordinary evidence. 1668. He returns to Roan.

When he came to Roan, he received all those orders he had desired from the court. And a letter from abbot Mountague assured him, "that he need "no more apprehend any discommodity from orders "of the court, but might be confident of the con- "trary, and of all respect that could be shewed him "from thence: that he might stay at Roan as long "as his indisposition required; and when he had "made use of the waters of Bourbon, he might re- "tire to any place he would choose to reside in." Monsieur le Fonde had orders, "after he had ac-

1668. "companied the chancellor two or three days' jour-
"ney towards Bourbon, except he desired his com-
"pany longer, to return to the court." Only mon-
sieur de Lionne desired, "that he would not in
"his journey come nearer Paris than the direct
"way required him to do, because the emperor's
"agent at London, the baron of Isola, had con-
"fidently averred, that the king had one day gone
"incognito from the Bois de Vincennes to meet the
"chancellor, and had a long private conference with
"him."

From whence he begins his journey to Avignon.

When he had stayed as long at Roan as was necessary for the taking a little physic and recovering a little strength, the season required his making haste to Bourbon: and so on the 23d of April he began his journey from thence; and that he might comply with the directions of monsieur de Lionne, he chose to go by the way of Eureux, and to lodge there that night. And because he was unable to go up a pair of stairs, he sent a servant before, as he had always done, to choose an inn where there was some ground-lodging, which often was attended with discommodity enough, and now (besides being forced to go through the city into the suburbs) was like to cost him very dear.

He is greatly abused by some English at Eureux.

There happened to be at that time quartered there a foot company of English seamen, who had been raised and were entertained to serve the French in attending upon their artillery, some of them being gunners; and none of them had the language, but were attended by a Dutch conductor, who spake ill English, for their interpreter. Their behaviour there was so rude and barbarous, in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the towns-

men who would not give them any thing they demanded, that the city had sent to the court their complaints, and expected orders that night for their remove. They quickly heard of the chancellor's being come to the town; and calling their company together declared, "that there were many months' pay "due to them in England, and that they would "make him pay it before he got out of the town." 1668.

He was scarce gotten into his ill ground-lodging, when many of them flocked about the house: upon which the gates of the inn were shut, they making a great noise, and swearing they would speak with the chancellor; and, being about the number of fifty, they threatened to break open the gate or pull down the house. The mutiny was notorious to all the street; but they had not courage to appear against them: the magistrates were sent to; but there was a difference between them upon the point of jurisdiction, this uproar being in the suburbs. In short, they broke open the door of the inn: and when they were entered into the court, they quickly found which was the chancellor's chamber. And the door being barricadoed with such things as were in the room, they first discharged their pistols into the window, with which they hurt some of the servants, and monsieur le Fonde, who with his sword kept them from entering in at the window with great courage, until he was shot with a brace of bullets in the head, with which he fell: and then another of the servants being hurt, they entered in at the window, and opened the door for the rest of their company, which quickly filled the chamber.

The chancellor was in his gown, sitting upon the bed, being not able to stand; upon whom they all

1668. came with their swords drawn: and one of them gave him a blow with a great broadsword upon the head, which if it had fallen upon the edge must have cleft his head; but it turned in his hand, and so struck him with the flat, with which he fell backward on the bed. They gave him many ill words, called him "traitor," and swore, "before he should "get out of their hands he should lay down all their "arrears of pay." They differed amongst themselves what they should do with him, some crying, "that they would kill him," others, "that they "would carry him into England:" some had their hands in his pockets, and pillaged him of his money and some other things of value; others broke up his trunks and plundered his goods. When himself recovered out of the trance in which he was stunned by the blow, they took him by the hand who spake of carrying him into England, and told him, "it "was the wisest thing they could do to carry him "thither, where they would be well rewarded:" another swore, "that they should be better rewarded "for killing him there." And in this confusion, the room being full, and all speaking together, the fellow who had given him the blow, whose name was Howard, a very lusty strong man, took him by the hand, and swore, "they should hurt one another if "they killed him there; and therefore they would "take him into the court, and despatch him where "there was more room." And thereupon others laid their hands upon him and pulled him to the ground, and then dragged him into the court, being in the same instant ready to run their swords into him together: when in the moment their ensign, and some of the magistrates with a guard, came

into the court, the gate being broken; and so he was rescued out of their bloody hands, and carried back into his chamber. 1668.

Howard and many of the other, some whereof had been hurt with swords as they entered at the window, were taken and carried to prison, and the rest dispersed, vowing revenge when they should get the rest of their company together: and it cannot be expressed with how much fear the magistrates, and the poor guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

The chancellor himself had the hurt before mentioned in his head, which was a contusion, and already swollen to a great bigness; monsieur le Fonde was shot into the head with a brace of bullets, and bled much, but seemed not to think himself in danger; two of the chancellor's servants were hurt with swords, and lost much blood: so that they all desired to be in some secure place, that physicians and surgeons might visit them. And by this time many persons of quality of the town, both men and women, filled the little chamber; bitterly inveighing against the villany of the attempt, but renewing the dispute of their jurisdiction. And the provost, who out of the city was the greater officer, would provide an accommodation for them in his own house in the city, and appoint a guard for them; which the magistrates of the city would not consent to, nor lie to the expedient proposed by them. And this dispute with animosity and very ill words continued in the chamber till twelve of the clock at night, the hurt persons being in the mean time without any remedy or ease: so that the magistrates, though they were not so dangerous, were as troublesome as the

1668. seamen, against whom they were not yet secure upon a second attempt.

In the end, monsieur le Fonde was forced to raise his voice louder than was agreeable to the state he was in, to threaten to complain of them to the king, for their neglect before and after the mischief was done: by which they were much moved, and presently sent to the governor of the duke of Bouillon's castle, (which is a good and noble house in the town,) "that he would receive the chancellor and "monsieur le Fonde, with such servants as were "necessary for their attendance;" which he did with great courtesy, and gave them such accommodation as in an unfurnished house could on the sudden be expected. And so physicians and surgeons visited their wounds, and applied such present remedies as were necessary, till upon some repose they might make a better judgment.

The same night there were expresses despatched to the court to give advertisement of the outrage, and to Roan to inform the intendant in whose province it was committed: and he the next day with a good guard of horse arrived at Eureux. After he had visited the chancellor, with the just sense of the insolence he had undergone, and of the indignity that the king and his government had sustained; he proceeded in the court of justice to examine the whole proceedings, and much blamed the magistrates on all sides for their negligence and remissness. Upon the whole examination there appeared no cause to believe, that there was any formed design in which any others had concurred than they who appeared in the execution, who defended themselves by being drunk, which did not appear in any other

thing than in the barbarity of the action. Yet it was confessed, that upon their first arrival at Dieppe, and whilst they were quartered there, the chancellor then passing by between Roan and Calais, they had a resolution to have robbed or killed him, if they had not been prevented by his getting the gates opened, and so going away before the usual hour. 1668.

The surgeons found monsieur le Fonde's wound to be more dangerous than they had apprehended, and that at least one of the bullets remained still in the wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the scull, in which case trepanning would be necessary; which made him resolve, though he was feverish, presently to have a brancard made, and to be put into it in his bed, and so with expedition to be carried to Paris, where he was sure to find better operators, besides the benefit and convenience of his own house and family. And so the third day after his misadventure, and after he had given his testimony to the intendant, he was in that manner, and attended by a surgeon, conveyed to Paris; and, by the blessing of God, recovered without the remedy that had been proposed.

The chancellor, after he had been[r] bled once or twice, found himself only in pain with the blow, without any other symptoms which frequently attend great contusions; and therefore he positively rejected the proposition of trepanning, which had been likewise earnestly urged by the surgeons: and upon application of such plasters and ointments as were prescribed, he found both the pain and swelling lessen by degrees, though the memory of the blow lasted long; so that he thought himself fit enough

[r] been] *Not in MS.*

1668. for his journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky town; and his servants, having only flesh-hurts, could endure the coach as well as he. The intendant, who knew his desire, and was willing to defer his judgment till he was gone from thence, was very well content that he should proceed in his journey, and sent his sons with his own troop to convoy him two or three leagues out of the town; and appointed the provost with his troop of horse to attend him to his lodging that night, and farther if he desired it. And the next day he condemned Howard and two others, an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an Irishman, (for the company consisted of the three nations,) to be broken upon the wheel; which was executed accordingly. And shortly after his arrival at Bourbon, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the chancellor, "of the trouble "the king sustained for the affront and danger he "had undergone; and that his majesty was very ill "satisfied, that so few as three had been sacrificed "to justice for so barbarous a crime."

He removes from thence to Bourbon;

When he had stayed as long at Bourbon in the use of the waters, as the physicians prescribed, (in which time he found a good recovery of his strength, save that the weakness of his feet still continued in an uneasy degree;) and had[s] received great civilities during his abode there from all the French of quality, men and women, who came thither for the same remedies, and with whom the town then abounded; he prosecuted his journey to Avignon: and having stayed a week at Lyons, without any new ill accident he arrived about the middle of June there, by the pleasant passage of the Rhone.

And from thence to Avignon.

[s] had] having

Though he desired to make his journey as privately as he could, and had no more servants in his train than was necessary to the state of health he was in; yet he was known in most places by the presence of English, or by some other accident. And some friends at Paris had given such advertisement to Avignon, that when he arrived there, he had no sooner entered into a private lodging, which he procured the next day, but the vice-legate came to visit him in great state and with much civility, offering all the commodities of that place, if he would reside there. The archbishop, a very reverend and learned prelate, a Genoese, as the vice-legate likewise was, performed the same ceremony to him; and afterwards the consuls and magistrates of the city in a body, (who made a speech to him in Latin, as all the rest treated him in that language,) and all the principal officers of the court: so that he could not receive more civility and respect in any place; which, together with the cheapness and convenience of living, and the pleasantness of the country about it, might have inclined him to reside there. Yet the ill savour of the streets by the multitude of dyers and of the silk-manufactures, and the worse smell of the Jews, made him doubt that it could be no pleasant place to make an abode in during the heat of summer: and therefore receiving new confirmation by letters from Paris, "that he was entirely at liberty to reside where he would in "France," he resolved to take a view of some places before he would conclude where to fix; and the fame of Montpelier, that was within two little days' journey, invited him thither. And so after a week's stay at Avignon, and after having returned all the

1668.

His good reception there.

He goes to Montpelier;

1668. visits he had received, he went from thence, and came to Montpelier in the beginning of July.

Where he receives great civilities from the lady Mordaunt.

It was his very good fortune, that an English lady of eminent virtue and merit, the lady viscountess Mordaunt, who had in the beginning of the winter before, in as great weakness of body as nature can subsist with, transported herself thither, remained still at Montpelier; where she had miraculously, by the benefit of that air, recovered a comfortable degree of health: and the news of her being still there was a great motive to his journey from Avignon thither. The chancellor had no mind to be taken notice of; but some relations which that lady made to his advantage, and the great esteem that city had of her, made his reception there more formal and ceremonious than he desired.

Great respect paid to him there:

The marquis de Castro, governor of the city and castle, visited him, and welcomed him to the town; though he had not so much as a pass to come thither. The premier president, and all the other courts, and the consul and other magistrates of the city, visited him in their several bodies, and entertained him in Latin. It is true, that some days after, the intendant of the province (who was not then in the town) came thither; and he had received orders from the court, as soon as it was known that the chancellor was in Montpelier, "that he should "be looked upon and treated as a person of whom "the most Christian king had a good esteem:" and so, as soon as he came to the town, he visited him with much ceremony, and told him, "that he had "received a particular command from the king to "do him all the services he could in that city, and "in the province of Languedoc." And it must be

confessed, that during his residence in Montpelier, 1668.
which was not above one or two months less than three years, he did receive as much civility and formal courtesy from all persons of all conditions in that place, or who occasionally resorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if he had been sent thither as a public person. And when the duke of Vernueil (who was governor of the province, and used to convene the States thither every year) came to Montpelier, as he did three times in those three years, he always visited the chancellor, and shewed a very great respect to him: which was as great a countenance as he could receive.

Which he imputes to the friendship of lady Mordaunt.

Yet he did always acknowledge, that he owed all the civilities which he received at his first coming thither, and which were upon the matter the first civilities he had received in France, purely to the friendship of the lady Mordaunt, and to the great credit she had there: and for which, and the consolation he received from her during the time of her stay there, he had ever a great respect for her and her husband; who, coming likewise thither, when he received information from England of a design to assassinate him by some Irish, manifested a noble affection for him, and stayed some months longer than he intended to have done, that he might see the issue of that design. Of which he had a just sense, and transmitted the information of it to his children, to the end that they and his friends might, upon all opportunities, acknowledge it to them both.

And in truth the great respect the place had for him was notorious, when [t] any English came thither,

[t] when] in that when

1668. and forbore to pay any respect to the chancellor; as only one gentleman did, sir Richard Temple, who publicly declared, "that he would not visit him," and dissuaded others from doing it, as a matter the parliament would punish them for, and shewed much vanity and insolence in his discourses concerning him: but[u] he found so little countenance from any person of condition, though he called himself "the "premier president of the parliament of England," and such a general aversion towards him; that as they who came with him, and his other friends, deserted him and paid their civilities to the chancellor, so himself grew so ridiculous, that he left the town sooner than he intended, and left the reputation behind him of a very vain, humorous, and sordid person.

And having thus accompanied the chancellor through all his ill treatments and misadventures to Montpelier, where he resolved to stay, it will be to no purpose further to continue this relation; otherwise than as himself afterwards communicated his private thoughts and reflections to his friends.

When he found himself at this ease, and with those convenient accommodations, that he might reasonably believe he should be no more exposed to the troubles and distresses which he had passed through; he began to think of composing his mind to his fortune, and of regulating and governing his own thoughts and affections towards such a tranquillity, as the sickness of mind and body, and the continued sharp fatigue in the six or seven precedent months, had not suffered to enter into any formed delibera-

[u] but] *Not in MS.*

tion. And it pleased God in a short time, after some recollections, and upon his entire confidence in him, to restore him to that serenity of mind, and resignation of himself to the disposal and good pleasure of God, that they who conversed most with him could not discover the least murmur or impatience in him, or any unevenness in his conversations. He resolved to improve his understanding of the French language, not towards speaking it, the defect of which he found many conveniences in, but for the reading any books; and to learn the Italian: towards both which he made a competent progress, and had opportunity to buy or borrow any good books he desired to peruse. 1668.

He writes a vindication of himself.

But in the first place he thought he was indebted to his own reputation, and obliged[x] for the information of his children and other friends, to vindicate himself from those aspersions and reproaches which the malice of his enemies had cast upon him in the parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal charge, nor offered to be proved by any one witness, were yet maliciously scattered abroad and divulged to take away his credit. And the performance of this work, that was so necessarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his constant and uninterrupted fidelity and zeal for the king's service, and his resolution to say nothing on his own behalf and for his own vindication, that might in the least degree reflect upon his majesty; which consideration had before kept him from charging those who persecuted him, with such indirect and naughty proceedings as might have put an

[x] obliged] *Not in MS.*

1668. end to their power. Nor did he think fit in that conjuncture, when his majesty had not yet met with that compliance and submission from the parliament since the chancellor's remove, as had been promised to him as the effect of that counsel, to publish, that his coming away (which was the greatest blot upon his reputation) was with the king's privity, and at least with his approbation. However, he was resolved to commit into the custody of his children, who he knew could never commit a fault against his majesty, such a plain, particular defence of his innocence upon every one of the reproaches he had been charged with, that themselves might infallibly know his uprightness and integrity in all his ministry, which they observed and knew too much of to suspect; and might likewise manifestly convince other men, who were willing to be undeceived: but the manner of doing it, in respect of the former consideration, he left to their discretion. And having prepared this, and caused it to be fairly transcribed, before the lord and lady Mordaunt returned for England; he committed it to their care, who delivered it safely to the hands of his sons.

They were themselves upon that disadvantage under the reproach of their relation, that the eldest of them was removed from his attendance upon the queen for many months, without the allegation of any crime; and the other was retained only by the goodness of the king, against the greatest importunity that could be applied: and therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any offence, of which their adversaries might take any advantage. Besides, they observed that they, whose

credit and interest had done all the mischief to their father, were now fallen out amongst themselves with equal animosity, and had all carried themselves so ill with reference to the public, and so loosely and licentiously in order to a good name, that their being enemies brought little prejudice to any man's reputation; and many of those, who had been made instruments to deprave the chancellor, were not scrupulous in declaring how they had been cozened, and how unjustly he had been traduced and accused: so that they made no other use of the answer and vindication they had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect relation of some particular matters of fact which were variously reported, and could not be understood by any but those who had been conversant in the transactions. 1668.

It will be therefore necessary in this place, since there hath been before so methodical an account of all that the committee brought into the house of commons against him, and never after mentioned when they had once accused him, to insert such a short answer and defence to all that was alleged, out of that vindication which he sent from Montpelier, that nothing may remain in the possible thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted man that may reflect upon his sincerity, or leave any taint upon his memory; the preservation of which from being sullied by the misfortunes which befell him, is the only end of this discourse, never to be communicated or perused by any but his nearest relations; who, by the blessing of God, can never but retain that affection and duty to the crown and for the royal family, that by the laws of God and man is due to it and them, and without which they can

1668. never expect God's blessing in this or the world to come. And in this I shall observe the order I used before in the mention of the several allegations, omitting upon any particular the repetition of what hath been at large already said in this discourse, which shall be referred to for answer.

His answer to the several articles of the charge against him.

The first article. To the first then, "That he had designed a standing army, and to govern the kingdom thereby; advised the king to dissolve the present parliament, and to lay aside all thoughts of future parliaments; to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution," (which, if true, whether it was treason or no, must worthily have made him odious to all honest men.)

His answer. The answer which he then made, and which was dated at Montpelier upon the 24th of July 1668, within few days after his arrival there and resolution to stay there, was in these words. He said, as nothing could be more surprising to him, nor he thought to any man else, than to find himself, after near thirty years' service of the crown in the highest trust; after having passed all the time of his majesty's exile with him beyond the seas and in his service, and in which the indefatigable pains he took was notorious to many nations; and after he had the honour and happiness to return again with his majesty into England, and to receive from him so many eminent marks of his favour, and to serve him near eight years after his return in the place of the greatest trust, without ever having discovered that his majesty was offended with him, or in truth that he had ever the least ill success from any counsel he had ever given him; or that any persons of honour

and reputation, or interest in the nation, had ever made the least complaint against him, or had any thought that the miscarriages (for miscarriages were enough spoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any advice of his: he said, that as after all this he could not but be exceedingly surprised to find himself on a sudden, when he had not the least imagination of it, bereft of the king's favour, and fallen so far from his kindness, even within three or four days after his majesty had vouchsafed to condole with him in his house for the death of his wife, that he resolved to take the great seal from him; so it was no small comfort to him to see and know, that very few men of honour and reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the same was contrived, pursued, and brought to pass by men and women of no credit in the nation; by men, who had never served his majesty or his blessed father eminently or usefully, but most of them of trust and credit under Cromwell, or never of credit to do the king the least service; and who were only angry with him for not being pleased with their vicious and debauched lives, or for opposing and dissuading their loose and unreasonable counsels, which they were every day audaciously administering in matters of the highest moment, with great license and presumption. 1668.

But above all, he said, it was of the highest consolation to him, when it was publicly and industriously declared, "that the king was firmly resolved to destroy him, and would take it very well "from all men who would contribute thereunto, "by bringing in any charge or accusation against "him;" when the most notorious enemies he had

1668. were the only persons trusted in employment, men who had most eminently disserved and maliciously traduced the king, and had been to that time looked upon as such by his majesty; and when all, who were believed to have any kindness for the chancellor, were discountenanced and ill looked upon; when men of all conditions and degrees were daily solicited and importuned, by promises and threats, to declare themselves against him, at least if they would not be wrought over to do any thing against their conscience, that they would absent themselves from those debates: that all this malice and conspiracy, with so long deliberation and consultation, should not be able at last to produce and exhibit any other charge and accusation against him, but such a one as most men who knew him, or who had any trust or employment in the public affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the guilt of, and even his enemies themselves did not believe. The particulars whereof, he said, as far as he could take notice of them, they having not been to that day reduced into any form, so much as in the house of commons itself, he would then examine: and if he should appear too tedious in the examination and disquisition of them, and to say more than was necessary in his own defence, and to mention many particular persons in another manner than is usual upon occasions of this kind; he desired it might be remembered and considered, that this was not written as a formal answer to an impeachment, nor like to be published in his lifetime, a judgment of banishment being passed against him (without the least proof made or offered for the making good any one article of treason or misdemeanour) by act of parlia-

ment; but that it was a debt due to his children and posterity, that they might know (how much soever they were involved or might be in the effects of the sharp malice against him) how far he was from any guilt of those odious crimes which had been so odiously laid to his charge. 1668.

And that being his end, he might be excused if he did so far enlarge upon all particulars, that it might be manifest unto them how far he had been from treading in those paths, or having been accessory to those counsels, which had been the source from whence all those bitter waters had flowed, that had corrupted the taste even almost of the whole nation. And in order to that so necessary discourse and vindication of his integrity and honour, he could only take notice of the printed paper of those heads for a charge, that had been reported from the committee to the house; all correspondence and communication being so strictly inhibited to all kind of men to hold any kind of commerce with him, except his children and menial servants, who only had liberty to write unto him of his own domestic affairs; and the letters which they should write or receive were to be first communicated to one of the secretaries of state.

To the charge of the first article itself he said; it was no great vanity to believe, that there was not one person in England of any quality to whom he was in any degree known, who believed him guilty of that charge: and that he wanted not a cloud of witnesses (besides the testimony that he hoped his majesty himself would vouchsafe to give him in that particular) who, from all that they had heard him say in council and in conversation, could vindicate

1668. him from having that odious opinion. Having had the honour, by the special command of his late majesty of blessed memory, to attend the prince, his now majesty, into the parts beyond the seas, and to be always with him and in his service those many years of his exile, and till his happy return; he had always endeavoured to imprint in his majesty's mind an affection, esteem, and reverence for the laws of the land; "without the trampling of which "under foot," he told him, "that himself could not "have been oppressed; and that by the vindication "and support of them, he could only hope and ex- "pect honour and security to the crown." Upon that foundation and declared judgment, he said, he came into the service of the king his father, by opposing all irregular and illegal proceedings in parliament; and that he had never swerved from that rule in any advice and counsel he had given to him or to his son.

From the time of his majesty's happy return from beyond the seas, he had taken nothing so much to heart, as the establishment of the due administration of justice throughout the kingdom according to the known laws of the land, as the best expedient he could think of for the composing the general distempers of the nation, and uniting the hearts of the people in a true obedience unto, and reverence for, his majesty's person and government. And with what success he had served his majesty in that province, (which he had been pleased principally to commit to his care and trust,) he did appeal to the whole nation; and whether the oldest man could remember, that in the best times justice was ever more equally administered, and with less complaint

and murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the parts of the kingdom, and had been often taken notice of by the king himself with great approbation, and confessed by most of the nobility upon several occasions. He said, he had often declared in parliament the king's affection and reverence for the laws, and his resolution neither to swerve from them himself, nor to suffer any body else to do so: and upon the public occasions of swearing the judges in any courts, he had always enjoined them "to be very strict and precise in the "administration of justice according to law, with all "equality, and without respect of persons, which "the king expected from them; and that as his ma-"jesty resolved never to interpose by message or "letter for the advancement or favour of any man's "right or title, so he would take it very ill, if any "subject (how great soever) should be able to "pervert them." And he did believe there had never passed so many years together in any age, in which the crown had not in the least degree interposed in any cause or title depending in Westminster-hall, to incline the court to this or that side; or in which the crown itself hath had so many causes judged against it in several courts: at least in which former practice and usage on the behalf of the crown hath been less followed. And nothing is more known, than that from the time of the king's blessed return into England, even to the preparation of that charge against him, he had been reproached with nothing so much as his too much adhering to the law, and subjecting all persons to it: and this reproach had not been cast upon him so bitterly and so maliciously by any, and in places 1668.

1668. where they thought it might produce most prejudice to him, as by those who now contrived that charge, and who had been always great enemies to the law.

All this, and much more of the same kind, he said, was manifest to all the world: and therefore he needed not more to labour in that vindication. Yet he could not but observe, that there was not in all the king's forces, nor was when his forces were much greater than they were at that present, one officer recommended by him: and most of them were such who professed publicly a great animosity against him, having been, by the malice of some men, very unreasonably persuaded that the chancellor was their enemy; that he desired that they might be disbanded, or at least so obliged to the rules of the law, that they should be every day cast into prison. And they had indeed found, that in some insolencies which the soldiers had committed contrary to the law, and some pretences which they made to privileges against arrests, and the like, he had always opposed their desires with more warmth than other men had done; as believing it might be the cause of notable disorders, and more alienate the affection of the people from the soldiers: so that it could not be thought probable, that he should contribute his advice for the raising a standing army, and that the kingdom should be governed thereby; when there were very few men so like to be destroyed by that army as himself, who was so industriously rendered to be odious to it.

To the other part of that first article, "that he "did advise the king to dissolve the present parlia- "ment, and to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments "for the future," &c. which it was said two privy

counsellors were ready to prove; he made a relation of all that had passed in that consternation when the Dutch fleet came into the river as far as Chatham, and when the debate was in council upon the reconvening the parliament in August, when it stood prorogued till October, which the chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this discourse[y], of the time when those transactions passed, and so need not to be repeated in this place. 1668.

The second article. The second article was, "That he had, in the "hearing of many of his majesty's subjects, "falsely and maliciously said, that the king "was in his heart a papist, popishly affected, "or words to that effect."

His answer. He said, that he had occasion too often, throughout the whole charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great goodness of God Almighty, that, since he thought not fit (for his greater humiliation, and it may be to correct the pride of a good conscience) to preserve him entirely from those aspersions of infamy, and those *flagella linguæ*, those strokes of the tongue, which always leave some mark or scar in the reputation they desire to wound; he had yet infused into the hearts of his enemies, who had suggested and contrived this persecution against him, to lay such crimes to his charge as his nature is known most to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but must be contradicted, and a vindication of him from that guilt must be made, by all men who know him to any degree, or who have been much in his company. And as justice would have

[y] Page 247, &c. of this volume.

1668. required it, so the usual form in cases of this nature doth exact, that in so general a charge they should have named one single person of those many, in whose hearing he had laid that odious imputation upon the king: and every man will presume, that one such person would have been named, if he could have been found.

There was no man then alive, he said, who had had the honour to be so many years about or near the person of the king as he had been: no man, who knew more of the temptation his majesty had undergone, and the assaults he had sustained, in the matter of religion, during the whole time of his exile; when almost a total despair possessed the spirits of most men of his own religion, that he would recover his regality; and the hopes and promises and assurances were so pregnant of very many of all conditions, that he would suddenly recover it if he would change it. No man knew so well, with what Christian courage his majesty had repelled those assaults, or with what pious contempt and indignation he resisted and rejected those temptations. Nor had any man, he thought, held so many discourses with his majesty concerning religion as he had done; and sooner and more clearly discerned the reproaches he would undergo from that innate candour in his princely nature, which disposed him to receive any addresses, or to hear any discourses, which those of several factions in religion with great presumption have used to present to him: whilst his majesty hath, with equal temper and singular benignity, heard all; and, pitying their errors, dismissed them with evidence, that their arguments were too weak to make impression upon his judg-

ment. Which though they knew well, yet either party, out of the vanity of their hearts, used all the endeavours they could to get it believed, that the king was propitious to them and their party. And the papists, being most presumptuous in particular, and in their dark walks in several counties making it a special argument to their proselytes, and those they endeavoured to make so, that the king favoured them, and was of their religion in his heart, (of which, and the great prejudice it brought upon his majesty, he frequently received advertisements from many persons of honour, and of warm affections to the government;) of which he had always informed the king, who was exceedingly offended at their folly and presumption, and wished "that some of "them might be apprehended, and prosecuted with "the utmost rigour; and that some such prosecution "might be made against all the Roman catholics, "and that they might be convicted;" which he always gave in charge to the judges accordingly. And upon that and the like occasions he had a just and necessary opportunity to enlarge, in the presence of many persons of honour and interest in the kingdom, upon the sincerity of the king's religion, and his constant exercise of it when he suffered by it; giving such instances of many particulars as were pertinent to the discourse: of which endeavours of his, and of some fruit thereof, he doubted not but that many of as considerable persons as are in England would be ready to give him their testimony. And, he said, he might without vanity say, that he had more than an ordinary part in the framing and promoting that act of parliament, that hath made those seditious discourses, "of the king's being a 1668.

1668. "papist in his heart, or popishly affected," so very penal as they are[z]: and therefore there would be need of an undoubted and uncontrollable evidence, that he had so soon run into that crime himself. Which was all he would for the present say upon that second article.

The third article.

The third article was, "That he had received "great sums of money for passing the Canary "patent, and other illegal patents; and granted "several injunctions to stop proceedings at law "against them, and other illegal patents for- "merly granted."

His answer.

To which he said, that he had presumed in his humble address to the house of peers to assure their lordships, "that he had never received one penny "over and above the just perquisites of his office, "according to the precedents and practice of the "best times, which he conceived to be those of the "lord Coventry and the lord Ellesmere; and which "he had made his rule in all that he had receiv- "ed, excepting only what he had from the imme- "diate bounty of the king." And as he had always done all that was in his power to prevent and stop all illegal patents, so he did believe that there would be more patents then found in the office, which had been stopped by him, than by any of his predecessors in so short a time. He never granted any injunctions in the cases mentioned in the charge, nor in any case, where, by the course of the court and the rules of justice, it was not warranted. And for the Canary patent, and the original, and all the proceedings thereupon, so much is said in the body of

[z] they are] it is

this discourse, according to the time it was transacted in [a], that there needs no repetition of it in this place. 1668.

The fourth article was, "That he had advised "and procured divers of his majesty's sub- "jects to be imprisoned against law in remote "islands, garrisons, and other places; thereby "to prevent them from the benefit of the law, "and to introduce precedents for imprison- "ing of other of his majesty's subjects in like "manner." The fourth article.

To which he said, he knew not what answer to make to that article, it being so general, and no particular person being named: but, he said, it was generally known, that he had never taken it upon him to commit any man to prison, but such who, by the course of the chancery, for matters of contempt are justly and necessarily to be committed. It was probable that he had been present at the council-board, when many persons had been ordered to be committed, and whose commitment hath by the wisdom of that board been thought just and necessary; and therefore he was not to answer apart for any thing done by them. Only he might say, that he was frequently of opinion that the commitments were very necessary: and it was notoriously known, that by such commitments some rebellions or insurrections had been prevented; and that other persons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for high treason, had upon their examinations and at their death confessed, that their purpose had been to rise in arms at such and such times, if their His answer.

[a] Vol. ii. p. 362. &c.

1668. friends upon whom they had principally relied had not been then committed to prison. And, he said, he did well remember, that it was thought fit that most of the persons who stand attainted for the murder of the late king, his majesty's royal father, should be removed out of the Tower, and dispersed into several islands and garrisons: and if any other persons had been likewise sent thither, he presumed it was upon such reasons, as upon a due examination thereof would make it appear to be very just.

The fifth article. The fifth article was, "That he had corruptly "sold several offices contrary to law."

His answer. This he positively denied.

The sixth article. The sixth was, "That he had procured his ma- "jesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, "knowing the same; and great pretended "debts to be paid by his majesty, to the pay- "ment whereof his majesty was not in strict- "ness bound; and that he had received great "sums of money for procuring the same."

His answer. To this he said, he had never had any thing to do in the disposing his majesty's customs or any other part of his revenue, except for some short time after his majesty's first arrival in England; when he, amongst others of the lords of the council, was a commissioner for the treasury: during which time there was no farm let of any of the revenue, and the customs were put into the hand of commissioners, to the end that a computation might be made as near as was possible of the full value of them, before that it should be put into a farm, which every man conceived would be fit to be done as soon as might be. The white staff was shortly after given to the earl of Southampton, (to whom his majesty had de-

signed it before he returned,) and the chancellorship 1668.
of the exchequer to the lord Ashley, the lord chancellor having resigned it into his majesty's hands, which he had been possessed of for many years in the time of the late king, and retained it till after his majesty's return: and from the time that those two officers of the revenue were made, which determined the former commission, he never intermeddled in the customs, or in any other branch of the revenue; except when the king commanded him to be present in some consultations which he had with the lord treasurer, and when there were other lords of the council present. That excellent person, the lord treasurer, always resorted to the king for his direction, in all matters of the least difficulty which occurred to him in the administration of his office; and frequently did desire to confer with the chancellor (with whom he was known to have held a long and a fast friendship) upon many particulars of his office, believing that he was not altogether ignorant in that administration, with which he had been formerly so well acquainted. And that he conceived might be the reason, why he did oftentimes procure him to be joined with him in references from the king, upon matters wholly relating to his own office. But the chancellor did never then suffer any particular application to be made to him in those cases, nor had ever secret conferences with any persons who were concerned in those pretensions.

What was meant "by his having procured his "majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, "knowing the same; and great pretended debts to "be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof

1668. " his majesty was not in strictness bound;" he said, he could not imagine, except it did relate to the payment of a debt due from his late majesty to some of the farmers. In which though he had no more to do, than in giving information and his particular advice to his majesty, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other of the lords, and so was not himself responsible for what his majesty did thereupon; yet he thought himself obliged upon this particular, which so much concerned the honour and justice of the late king and of his present majesty, to enlarge, and relate all he knew of what their majesties did, and what induced his present majesty to do his part in it.

He said, it was notoriously known, that before the late troubles, and in the very first entrance into them, his majesty was necessitated to borrow very great sums of money from his then farmers of his customs, and to oblige them to stand personally bound for many other great sums of money, which other men lent to his majesty upon their security. That thereupon, and for the repayment of those sums which the farmers had advanced, and for securing them from any damage for those monies which others had lent upon their obligations, his late majesty, with the advice of the then lord treasurer and the chancellor of the exchequer, had granted a further lease of his customs to those farmers for three or four years to come, after the expiration of their former lease; with a covenant on his majesty's part, to pay the just interest for all such monies as were advanced by them, or for which they stood bound; and likewise that they should, out of their

growing rent, deduct such sums of money by the year, as they had lent or been bound for, according to such proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that shortly after the beginning of the parliament in 1640, and before the commencement of the second lease, the house of commons did not only force the said farmers to pay a very great sum of money for their presumption in receiving customs and impositions upon merchandise in the former years, when they pretended such payments were not due; but took also from them their new lease granted to them by the king, and so left them without any capacity of reimbursing themselves of the money they had lent, and likewise at the mercy of their creditors to whom they stood bound; many of whom quickly began to exercise that severity towards them, that many of the poor gentlemen had their estates extended upon judgments and recognisances, and their persons taken in execution and committed to prison; where some of them who had been known to have great estates, as sir Paul Pindar and others, were forced to end their lives. 1668.

There were very few circumstances in the late king's misfortunes, which gave him more trouble, or so much afflicted him as the sense he had of the horrid and unjust sufferings those poor gentlemen underwent for him, and their affection for his service; which he often publicly mentioned, and as often declared, "that he held himself obliged to make them "full reparation as soon as God should enable him." And he frequently spake to the chancellor, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, of that affair; of the good opinion he had of the men, and of the great

1668. services they had done for his majesty; and commanded him expressly, when it should fall within his power, he should do them all the right he could. And of this he had often informed his majesty during the time he was abroad, and after his return, without any other motive than his father's command and his own honour, having himself never had any degree of friendship with any of the persons concerned, and a very ordinary acquaintance with some of them. Upon his majesty's happy return, those gentlemen who were alive of the old farmers, who were sir John Jacob, sir Job Harby, sir Nicholas Crispe, and sir John Harrison, applied themselves to the king, having lain several years and at that time remaining in execution in several prisons, and having had their estates sold, upon the prosecution of those creditors to whom they were bound for money lent to his majesty.

As soon as measures were taken for collecting the revenue, those four gentlemen named before, and two others who had served his majesty very well, were appointed his commissioners for the collecting the customs and duties upon trade; in which collection they continued a year or thereabouts; during which time many of their creditors, who had generously forbore to prosecute them whilst they were in prison and undone, begun now to commence their actions against them, presuming they were then or would shortly be able to satisfy them. Whereupon the king commanded the lord treasurer and the chancellor, with some other lords, to send for those creditors, and to declare to them, "that his majesty "would in a short time enable his farmers to pay "their just debts, which he well knew were con-

" tracted for his service; and that he would take it 1668.
" very well from them, if they would for the present
" give no obstruction to his service, by the prosecu-
" tion of those persons at law, whose time was
" solely taken up in the necessary service of his ma-
" jesty." Whereupon they willingly desisted from that prosecution; and many of them finding now, that by his majesty's favour they were like to recover their debts they before thought to be desperate, they frankly remitted the whole or part of the interest, that in strictness of law was still due to them.

His majesty shortly after, finding it best for his profit to determine the collection by commission, and to let the whole to farm, gave direction to the lord treasurer to confer and treat with any fit persons who desired to contract for the same. Many overtures were made by several persons, and some applied themselves directly to his majesty. Upon which, and after a competent time in considering all that had been proposed, the king appointed a day, when he would be attended by the lord treasurer and other of the lords, and when all the pretenders should likewise be present, and he would then and there declare his own judgment; having first declared to the commissioners, whereof four were the old farmers to whom so much money was due, "that
" whosoever should take the farm, they should be
" obliged to pay them their just debt at such times,
" and by such proportions, as their service could
" bear. But as to the letting the farm itself, he
" would neither consider the debt he owed them,
" nor the sufferings they had undergone, but only
" the rent they should offer; which if as much as

1668. "any body else would give, he would prefer their "persons before others; but if any other fit men "would offer more than they thought fit to give, "they should be his farmers: and therefore wished "them well to consider what they would propose to "him."

After two days spent by his majesty with the several pretenders apart, and finding that the propositions made to him by the old farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had served with them as commissioners, were at least as much if not more for his profit than any that had been made by any of the rest; he did declare, that the farm should be let to those who had been his commissioners: which at that time was understood to be so far from being a good bargain, that the two commissioners, who were not concerned in the great debt, utterly refused to meddle with the farm at so great a rent; the other four publicly declaring at the same time, "that they would not give the rent "but in contemplation of their debt, which they "thought they should sooner and better receive, "when it should be assigned upon their own collec- "tions, than when it should be charged upon new "farmers." But they were suitors to his majesty, "that he would oblige the other two (sir John Wol- "stenholme and sir John Shaw) to be joint farmers "with them;" which his majesty did, by making a gracious promise to them, "that if they should be "losers, he would repair them:" and thereupon directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a grant accordingly. And, he said, he did not know that there was one dissenting voice from what his majesty inclined to do upon the whole matter,

the same appearing to every man to be most just and reasonable. 1668.

The farm being thus settled, the old farmers were directed "to bring their accounts to the lord trea- "surer and chancellor of the exchequer, by which it "should manifestly appear how much the king was "justly and truly indebted to them, and how the "debts were incurred; that so upon a just compu- "tation such satisfaction might be made to them, as "was consistent with the present state of his ma- "jesty's affairs and occasions." Many months, if not a whole year, were spent in the examination of those accounts before the auditors: who, besides the exceptions they took for want of some formalities in the proof of some money paid, which after twenty years of license (in which all their books and papers had been taken, their houses plundered, and their persons imprisoned; and in which so many persons employed by the king to receive and by them to pay money were dead) could hardly be made with the usual exactness; made likewise several certificates of particular cases, which required further directions. And the lord treasurer would never take upon himself to give those directions, only declaring to them, as he had frequently done, "that in regard "his majesty was not strictly bound in justice to "pay that debt due from his father, but that his "present majesty's generous and royal disposition "had prevailed with him to pay that just debt, "whereby they might be preserved from ruin, in "which," he said, "he had fully concurred with his "majesty; but that he would never advise him, on "the contrary he would always dissuade his majesty "from paying or allowing any interest, though paid

1668. "by them, which would swell the debt to such a "proportion, that his majesty could never undertake "the payment of it." Which determination, how great soever their loss appeared to be, seemed to be so just, at least so necessary for the king, that they wholly referred it to his majesty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their creditors not to exact it from them, though the sale of their whole estates had made satisfaction to others for the whole interest, as well as for the principal.

When the auditors' certificate was ready, and all the doubts and questions that did arise thereupon were clearly stated, his majesty vouchsafed again to be present with the other lords, who had from the beginning assisted in the examination of that business: and then the lord treasurer declared to his majesty, what he had before said to the persons concerned, "that[b] though he willingly approved his "majesty's goodness in taking upon himself that "great debt, yet that he would by no means give "his advice or consent that he should pay or allow "any interest for it."

Upon the whole matter, and upon all the doubts stated to his majesty, and after the rejection of several of the sums of money which were demanded by them, and for the payment whereof such direct proof is not made as is required by the course of the exchequer, (though, he said, he thought most persons who were present were in their private consciences well satisfied, that those sums had been in truth paid to his majesty's use, as had been alleged;) there appeared to his majesty to be justly due to

[b] that] and

them the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, 1668.
principal-money, for almost twenty years, and for which they had paid the interest for many years out of their own estates. And his majesty thought it very just; and, with many gracious expressions of his purpose and resolution further to repair them as he should be able, gave order to the lord treasurer, "that the said debt of two hundred thousand "pounds should be paid to them in five years, that "is, by forty thousand pounds for every year, out "of the rent of the farm; and that all instruments "necessary for their satisfaction and security should "be presently given to them, whereby they might "be able to comply with their creditors, and avoid "their importunity," wherewith his majesty begun to be troubled as much as themselves.

He did confess himself to have been present at those agitations, and to have contributed his humble advice and opinion to his majesty that he should pay this debt; which he thought himself obliged to do, as well as a faithful counsellor to his present majesty, as in discharge of his duty and obligation to his father. And, he said, he had very good reason to believe, that if that two hundred thousand pounds be paid according to his majesty's direction, and of which the heirs and executors of those farmers who are dead, as well as the four present farmers, have their equal proportions; the said persons have not at this day half the estates they had in the year 1640, when they entered into those engagements for his majesty. Nor was there any one person present at the agitation of this affair, who seemed in the least degree to differ in the opinion, or to dis-

1668. suade his majesty from giving that satisfaction for that debt.

He said, he did likewise very willingly confess, that he had in the manner aforesaid, and being called to advise, given his opinion for the payment of many other considerable debts incurred by his late majesty, and for which many persons of honour, who adhered to him during that war, were personally bound for him, and whose estates had been extended and their persons imprisoned for the same; many of whom were in execution and in prison for the same when his majesty returned, and others were then sued in Westminster-hall, in his majesty's own courts. His late majesty having granted under his great seal of England, to several persons intrusted for the rest, many of his forests, parks, and other lands, for their security and indemnity who were or should stand bound for him, for money that was then borrowed for and applied to the necessary support of himself and his army, and to no other purpose; in [c] that grant he had been particularly trusted, as well by the desire of the persons particularly concerned, as by his majesty's command to be solicitous for their satisfaction. And he did not deny, that he was never more glad [d], than when he was able to procure satisfaction for those persons who were so bound and so secured; nor more troubled, than that he could do no more, than that there remained still so many unsatisfied, and almost undone, for those debts so contracted; of which number he believed there were still too many.

[c] in] and in

[d] never more glad] very glad

But having made those clear confessions of what was truth, and what he did do in those transactions, he said, he must as positively deny, that ever he procured or advised the letting his majesty's customs, or any other part of his revenue, at underrates: on the contrary, that he used all the ways he could to advance the rents, without respect of persons; and that he was never present at the letting any farm that any men would have given more for, than they did to whom it was let, what offers soever were made afterwards, when his majesty himself had made a contract, and when a grant was issued accordingly under the great seal of England. And he did as positively deny, that ever he received or expected the least sum of money, or money-worth, for any lease made by his majesty of his customs, or any other part of his revenue; or for the payment of any one debt made by his majesty, to which he was or was not bound: he having, he said, never had any other motive for the performance of those offices, but the pure and entire consideration of his majesty's honour, justice, and profit, and his own inclination to gratify worthy persons, who in justice ought to be or might with justice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been such persons to whom he had had no kind of obligation. 1668.

The seventh article was, "That he had received "great sums of money from the company of "vintners, or some of them or their agents, for "enhancing the prices of wines, and for free- "ing them from the payment of legal penalties "which they had incurred." The seventh article.

He said, if he had been in the least degree guilty of that charge, it would very easily have been His answer.

1668. proved; and the vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being persons who never thought themselves beholden to him, and so not obliged to conceal any of his corruptions. They well knew, that he could never be prevailed with to consent to the enhancing the prices of their wines, and that he never had received from them the least sum of money, or other gratuity from them, in his life. He said, he did remember, that at a time when his majesty had refused to grant all their other petitions, the company of vintners did complain, "that there "were so many informations against them prose- "cuted by informers in the exchequer, that they "must give over their trades, and be likewise un- "done, if they should be severely pursued for what "was past:" and therefore they besought his majesty in council, "that he would pardon what was "past; and that for the future they would trespass "no more." Whereupon his majesty thought it worthy of his mercy to shelter them for the present from that prosecution; and thereupon commanded his attorney general "to call the informers before "him, and to appoint the vintners to pay them such "reasonable rewards for their pains as he thought "fit; and thereupon he should enter a *noli prose-* "*qui*:" but his majesty charged them "for the fu- "ture not to run into the same danger." And as this grace from his majesty was not upon his promotion, but purely from his own bounty and goodness, from which nobody dissuaded him; so he never received the least profit from the same.

The eighth article.

The eighth is, "That he had in a short time "gained to himself a far greater estate than "can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so

" short a time; and contrary to his oath he 1668.
" had procured several grants under the great
" seal from his majesty, to himself and to his
" relations, of several of his majesty's lands, he-
" reditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of
" his majesty."

To this he said, that he wished with all his heart His answer.
that the truth of that article (which he presumed had drawn on all the rest) were clearly known to all the world: and that they, who in truth do believe that he hath so great an estate, were well informed what it is; and they would then clearly discern that he needed not be ashamed of having gotten such an estate, nor that he needed to have any recourse to any ill arts or means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that he had been so far from " procuring several grants under the " great seal of England from his majesty, to himself " and his relations, of several of his majesty's lands, " hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his " majesty;" that he never moved his majesty in his life for any one grant to himself or any of his relations. If his majesty's royal bounty had disposed him to confer somewhat of benefit and advantage upon an old servant, who had waited upon his father and himself near thirty years in some trust and employment; he said, he hoped it should not be imputed as a crime in him to receive his favours. He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor services he had ever done, or could do, were in any degree proportionable to his majesty's bounty: yet since his majesty's goodness had thought him fit for it, he hoped many others would think so too; at least as fit as some men, who had received greater

1668. marks and proportions of it than he had done, and who, though they might serve much better, had not served so long.

He said, he forbore to enlarge upon that charge, because he conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by those who did not believe it themselves, to think his estate to be very great, that the information they received was without ground: and whoever considers, that the first year after the king's return yielded justly more profit to the great seal than he ever received in all the years following, and some particular acts of bounty conferred on him by his majesty, without the least suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his fault was greater in having no better an estate, than that what he hath hath been gotten by corruption. He said, he hath none of his majesty's lands, but what he had bought, for as much as any body would pay for it, of those who had the same granted to them by his majesty's bounty, and that grant confirmed to them by act of parliament. And he presumed that it could not have fallen from his majesty's memory, and was sure was well known to some persons of honour yet alive, that when his majesty was graciously pleased, upon his first coming over, to offer him some land that had never yielded any thing to the crown, he absolutely refused to receive it, because it was generally thought to be of great value; and therefore he would not expose himself to the envy which naturally attends those donations, having in truth never had an immoderate appetite to make haste to be rich; and had as much apprehended the being accused of witchcraft or burglary, as of bribery and corruption.

In a word; he did declare, that, his debts being discharged, for which he paid interest, all his estate was not worth, being sold, the money that he had received from his majesty's own royal bounty, and far from being suitable to the quality he yet held, and which was never obtained by his own ambition, as many persons of honour could testify. 1668.

The ninth article was, "That he had introduced "an arbitrary government in his majesty's fo- "reign plantations; and had caused such as "complained thereof before his majesty and "his council, to be long imprisoned for so "doing." The ninth article.

To this he said, that though he could not possibly comprehend the full meaning of that article, yet because he had heard of many discourses made of the authority that he assumed to himself over the plantations, and the great advantage and benefit that he had drawn to himself from thence, he was very willing to take that occasion to relate all that he knew, and all that he had done, with reference to any of his majesty's plantations; declaring in the first place, that at his majesty's return, and before, he had used all the endeavours he could to prepare and dispose the king to a great esteem of his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them by all the ways that could reasonably be proposed to him. And he had been confirmed in that opinion and desire, as soon as he had a view of the entries in the custom-house; by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from those plantations, insomuch as the receipts from thence had upon the matter repaired the decrease and diminution of the customs, which the late troubles had. His answer.

1668. brought upon other parts of trade, from what it had formerly yielded.

The first consideration that offered itself before the king that related to the plantations, was concerning the Barbadoes; which having been most discoursed of since, and, as he had heard, with some reflections upon him of partiality and injustice, he said, he would in the first place set down all he knew in that affair, and how he came to meddle in it.

Before the beginning of the late troubles, the king had granted the island of the Barbadoes to the earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, upon a supposition that it had been first discovered, possessed, and planted at his charge: and the said earl sent a governor and people thither, and enjoyed it to his death; and by his will settled it for the payment of his debts, which were very great. The troubles falling out in a short time after, little or no profit had been drawn from thence towards the satisfaction of those debts; and the executors and trustees totally neglected the taking care of it, or prosecuting the plantation. But in and after the war many citizens, merchants, and gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themselves from England, transported themselves thither, and planted without asking any body's leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any body.

About the year 1647, or thereabouts, the late earl of Carlisle, son and heir of the former earl, to whom the inheritance of that island belonged, treated with the late lord Willoughby of Parham, how that island might be so husbanded, that the plantation might be advanced, and profit made by

it; which would at last redound to himself, when the debt should be paid. The late king was then in the hands of the army: and with his majesty's approbation and consent, it was agreed between the said earl and the said lord, "that a lease should be "made by the earl of Carlisle to the lord Willough- "by, of all the profits which should arise out of that "plantation, for the term of twenty-one years or "thereabouts; a moiety of the whole profits to be "received by the lord Willoughby himself for his "own use, in recompense for his pains and charge. "And he was likewise to receive a commission from "the said earl, to be governor of that and the rest "of the Caribbee islands," (all which were comprehended in the charter granted by the king to the earl of Carlisle;) "and that a commission should be "likewise procured from the king or the prince of "Wales, by which the lord Willoughby was to be "constituted governor of the said islands." 1668.

About that time the fleet in the Downs returned to their obedience to the king, withdrawing themselves to the coast of Holland to offer their service to the prince of Wales, his majesty that now is; the lord Willoughby then likewise coming over to him, to serve him in any condition his highness would employ him in. That summer being passed without any good success, the lord Willoughby then informed the prince of what had passed between the earl of Carlisle and him with the king his father's consent; which his highness had likewise received from his majesty himself, with much recommendation of the lord Willoughby. He said, he was then attending upon the prince in Holland, as one of the king's council assigned by his majesty for that ser-

1668. vice. Upon the understanding this whole case, the prince, upon the unanimous advice of the council, thought fit to grant such a commission of governor of the Barbadoes and the other islands, as he desired: and he had the more reason to desire it, (notwithstanding the earl of Carlisle's grant and commission,) because the principal planters upon the Barbadoes had been officers in the king's army, or of manifest affections to him, and always looked upon as of his party.

With this commission the lord Willoughby had, at his great charge and expense, transported himself to the Barbadoes, and was there received as governor; and made a contract with the planters, "that so much should be paid upon the hundred to "the earl of Carlisle," to whom the propriety of the whole belonged. But before this agreement could be well executed, or any profit drawn from thence, the island was reduced to the obedience of the parliament and of Cromwell, and a governor appointed by them; the lord Willoughby being sent into England, where he remained till the king's return, and had given unquestionable evidence of his affection to the king's service, for which he had often been committed to prison before and after Cromwell's death.

As soon as the king returned, the lord Willoughby (who had then eight or nine years to come of his lease formerly granted to him by the earl of Carlisle, who was then likewise living, and ready to do any other act to the lord Willoughby's advantage) resolved to return himself to the Barbadoes, and desired the king to renew his commission to him for the government; which his majesty was very will-

ing to do, as to a person he esteemed very much, 1668.
and who had spent very much of his own fortune, as was notoriously known, in that service. But the Barbadoes and all those other islands were now become of another consideration and value, than they had been of before the troubles: the Barbadoes itself was (by that confluence and resort thither as was mentioned before) so fully planted, that there was no room for new comers, and they had sent very many of their people to the other islands to plant; many citizens of London had raised very great estates there, and every year received a very great revenue from thence; and[e] the king's customs from that one island came to a very great sum of money yearly.

All these men, who[f] had entered upon that plantation as a waste place, and had with great charge brought it to that perfection, and with great trouble, begun now to apprehend, that they must depend upon the good-will of the earl of Carlisle and lord Willoughby for the enjoyment of their estates there, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own. All these men joined together in an appeal to the king, and humbly prayed "his protection, and that "they might not be oppressed by those two lords." They pleaded, "that they were the king's subjects; "that they had repaired thither as to a desolate "place, and had by their industry obtained a liveli-"hood there, when they could not with a good con-"science stay in England. That if they should be "now left to those lords to ransom themselves and "compound for their estates, they must leave the

[e] and] *Not in MS.* [f] who] *Not in MS.*

1668. "country; and the plantation would be destroyed, "which yielded his majesty so good a revenue. "That they could defend themselves by law against "the earl of Carlisle's title, if his majesty did not "countenance it by a new grant of the government "to the lord Willoughby: and therefore they were "suitors to his majesty, that he would not[g] destroy "them by that countenance."

At the same time, the creditors of the late earl of Carlisle (whose debts were to be satisfied by the profits of that plantation, by the will and settlement of the said earl) petitioned the king, "that they "might be in the first place provided for their "principal-money due to them at the death of the "earl amounted to no less than fifty thousand "pounds, of which they had never yet received one "penny; and therefore that the profits which should "arise ought in the first place to be applied to them, "there having been many families utterly ruined for "want of their monies so due to them." The king appointed to hear all their several pretences at the council-board, where they all attended with their council: and after his majesty had spent three or four days himself in hearing the several allegations, finding[h] new pretences and difficulties every day to arise, (which shall be mentioned anon,) the king appointed several of the lords of the council "to consider of "the whole matter, and to confer with the several "parties, and, if it were possible, to make an end "between them by their own consent; otherwise "to report the several titles to his majesty, with "such expedients as in their judgments they thought

[g] not] *Omitted in MS.* [h] finding] and finding

"most like to produce a general satisfaction, with- 1668.
"out endangering the plantation," the preservation whereof his majesty took to heart. The chancellor was one of that committee, and took very much pains in reading the charters, grants, and leases, and many other papers and despatches which concerned that affair; and conferred with several of the persons interested; to the end that he might the better discern what could be done, having never understood or heard any thing of the matter, or that concerned that plantation, otherwise than what he hath before set down upon the despatch of the lord Willoughby to [i] Holland; nor had he the least[k] inclination or bias to any party. Upon the hearing all the allegations before the lords, the several pretences and titles appeared to them to be these; which they afterwards reported to the king.

The lord Willoughby demanded nothing from the king, but his commission to be governor for the remainder of the years which had been granted to him by the earl of Carlisle; to the end that he might receive one moiety of those profits which should arise to the earl, and which had been assigned to him with the consent and approbation of the late king, and of his majesty that now is; upon which he had undertaken that voyage, and spent so much of his estate.

The earl of Carlisle, whilst this contention was depending, died, and by his will devised his interest in the Barbadoes to the earl of Kinnoul, who likewise petitioned the king for the preservation of his right: but neither he, nor the person under whom

[i] to] in [k] least] *Not in MS.*

1668. he claimed, had any pretence till all the debts should be satisfied; nor did the earl of Kinnoul demand any thing till then, but believed the profit would arise yearly to so much, that the debts would quickly be satisfied, and then the whole was to come to him.

There was another title that preceded the earl of Carlisle's, which was that of the earl of Marlborough, who alleged, and proved it to be true, "that "the Barbadoes and those adjacent islands were "first granted by the king to his grandfather the "earl of Marlborough, who was then lord high "treasurer of England, before the earl of Carlisle "had any pretence thereunto; and that the lord "treasurer had afterwards consented that the same "should be granted to the earl of Carlisle, upon a "full contract, that he should first receive for ever "the sum of three hundred pounds by the year out "of the first profits of the plantations; which sum "of three hundred pounds had never been yet paid: "and therefore the earl of Marlborough desired, as "heir to his grandfather, to have satisfaction for the "arrears, and that the growing rent might be se-"cured to him."

The creditors were of two kinds: the first, and who had first petitioned the king, as was said before, had an assignment made to them by the executors and trustees of the earl of Carlisle upon his will, and who at his death owed them the full sum of fifty thousand pounds or thereabouts. The other creditors consisted of several tradesmen and artificers, to whom the said earl was indebted for wares and goods which they had delivered for his use; and of several servants for their arrears of

wages: and all those had, during the late troubles, exhibited their bill in chancery against the executors and overseers of the late earl, and had obtained a decree in that court for their satisfaction out of the profits of those plantations, (which decree stood confirmed by the late act of judicial proceedings;) and, as he remembered, their debts amounted to thirty thousand pounds or thereabout. None of the creditors in general, of one or the other sort, had ever received one shilling from the time that the earl had first assigned it. 1668.

The planters insisted positively, "that the charter granted to the earl of Carlisle by the king was "void in point of law;" for which their council alleged many reasons. And having spent much time upon that argumentation, they concluded with two humble propositions to the king. 1. "That his majesty would give them leave to prosecute in his "name in the exchequer, and at their own charge, "to repeal that grant to the earl of Carlisle; by "which they should be freed from the arbitrary "power and oppression which would be exercised "upon them under the colour of that charter, and "his majesty might receive a great benefit to himself, by taking the sovereignty into his own hands, "to which it belonged. And in that case they offered in their own names, and for the rest of the "planters who were in the island, to consent to an "imposition of so much in the hundred, which they "confidently averred would amount in the year to "ten thousand pounds at the least; out of which his "majesty's governor might be well supported, and "his majesty dispose of the overplus as he should "think fit." 2. "If his majesty would not suffer

1668. "the charter to be repealed, that he would leave
"those who claimed under the earl of Carlisle's pa-
"tent to their remedy at law, and leave the planters
"to their own defence; which they hoped in justice
"could not be denied to them, since they alone had
"been at the charge to settle the plantation, which
"brought every year so great a revenue to the
"crown, when the earl had not been at the least ex-
"pense thereupon: and if his majesty should not[1]
"assist their pretences with his royal authority,
"they must all quit the plantation."

These being the several pretences of the several persons, and nothing being to be done by agreement between themselves, their interests being so distinct and inconsistent with each other; his majesty thought fit, in the first place, to refer the consideration of the validity and legality of the patent to his council at law; who, upon full deliberation and after the hearing of all parties, returned their opinion, "that their patent was void, and that his ma-
"jesty might take the same into his own power." This report was no sooner made to his majesty, but that he very graciously declared, "that he would
"not receive from hence any benefit or advantage
"to himself, until all their pretences had received
"satisfaction; and that he would make no further
"use of avoiding the said charter, than to dispose
"the profits of the plantation to those, who in jus-
"tice had any pretence in law or equity to receive
"the same: and therefore that the lord Willoughby
"should proceed in his voyage to the Barbadoes,
"and should receive according to his bargain a

[1] not] now

"moiety of the profits; and that the other part 1668.
"should be disposed of for the satisfaction of the
"debts and other incumbrances." In order to which, his majesty appointed the same committee of the lords to meet again, and to adjust the several proportions.

When they met again, they had all the persons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any occasion; and they all appeared very glad that the king had taken the care and protection of the plantation upon himself, which was all the security the planters had or could desire. And the lords' first care was, to make some computation that might be depended upon, as the yearly revenue that would arise upon the imposition within the island. But the planters would not be drawn to any particular agreement in that point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every hundred; but on the contrary declared, "that too much "had been undertaken in that kind by one of their "own number, Mr. Kendall, in his discourse before "the king in the council," and declared, "that the "plantation could not bear the imposition he had "mentioned. That whatsoever was to be done of "that nature was to be transacted by an assembly "in the island: and that all that they could pro-"mise for themselves was, that they would use "their utmost endeavours with their friends in the "island, that when the lord Willoughby should ar-"rive there and call an assembly, they should con-"sent to as great an imposition as the plantation "would bear; by which," they said, "a good reve-"nue would arise to the king for the purposes afore-"said."

1668. The creditors had great reason to be glad of the resolution his majesty had taken: for, though it would be a long time before they could be fully satisfied out of a moiety of the profits, though it should arise to the highest computation, yet in time they should receive all, and should every year receive some; which would lessen their debt, and relieve those who were in the highest necessities, of which there was a great number. Whereas they had hitherto in so many years received not one penny: and it was evident, that without his majesty's authority they never should, since the planters were resolved never to consent to any imposition, nor submit to any authority that should be exercised under the earl of Carlisle's patent, without a due course of law; the way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And they understood well enough, that, without his majesty's grace and bounty to them, the repeal or avoiding the earl of Carlisle's patent would put a quick end to all their pretences.

The greatest difficulty that did arise was from the earl of Kinnoul, to whom the last earl of Carlisle had devised these islands by his will: and he had a great mind to go thither himself, and take possession of his right; and his council had persuaded him, "that the king's charter granted to the first "earl of Carlisle was good and valid in law, and "that they believed they could defend and maintain "it in any court of justice." Then his own estate in Scotland was so totally lost by the iniquity of the time, and his father's having so frankly declared himself for the king, when very few of that nation lost any thing for their loyalty, that he had very lit-

tle left to support himself; and therefore was willing to retire into any place abroad, where he might find but a bare subsistence. But when he considered again, that he could have no pretence to any thing till after the creditors were fully satisfied, and how long it was like to be before they could be satisfied, there remaining still due to the creditors of both kinds no less than fourscore thousand pounds, principal-money; he did not believe that his insisting upon the patent would be worth the charge and hazard he must inevitably be put to: and therefore, upon further deliberation with his friends, he willingly referred himself and all his interest to the king's gracious determination, as all the rest of the pretenders and interested persons had done. 1668.

The case being thus fully stated to the lords, and every man's interest and pretence clearly appearing before them, they considered seriously amongst themselves what they might reasonably propose to the several persons, in order to their agreement amongst themselves; or, that proving ineffectual, what advice they might reasonably give his majesty. They were unanimously of opinion, "not to "advise his majesty to cause the patent to be called "in question: for though they doubted not, upon "the opinion of his learned council, that the same "would be judged void and illegal; yet they did "not think it a seasonable time, when the nation "was so active and industrious in foreign plant-"ations, that they should see a charter or patent "questioned and avoided, after it hath been so "many years allowed and countenanced, and under "which it hath [m] so long flourished, and was almost

[m] hath] had

1668. " grown to perfection. And that since his majesty " had declared, that, notwithstanding any right of " his own, all possible care should be taken for the " satisfaction of the creditors, as well as for the pre- " servation and support of the plantation; it would " be equally equitable and honourable in his ma- " jesty, not to leave the earl of Kinnoul the only " person unconsidered, and bereaved of all his pre- " tence. But that they would humbly move his " majesty, that he would graciously vouchsafe to as- " sign some present maintenance to the said earl, " which his unhappy condition required, out of the " revenue that should be there settled, and until the " debts should be paid; and that after that time " such an augmentation might be made to him, as " his majesty in his royal bounty should think fit: " in consideration whereof, the earl should procure " the patent to be brought in and surrendered;" which he promised should be done accordingly, as soon as the settlement should be made of that proportion which should be assigned to him.

" That the lord Willoughby should enjoy the be- " nefit of his former contract with the earl of Car- " lisle, and approved by his majesty, during the re- " mainder of those years which are not yet expired; " that he should make what haste he could thither, " and call an assembly, to the end that such an im- " position might be agreed upon to be paid to his " majesty as should be reasonable, in consideration " of the great benefit they had already and should " still enjoy, in being continued and secured in their " several plantations, in which as yet they were as it " were but tenants at will, having no other pretence " of right but the possession: and therefore, that

" those merchants and planters who had petitioned 1668.
" the king should, according to their obligation and
" promise made by them to his majesty, use all their
" credit with those in the island, that the imposition
" might arise to such a proportion, that the revenue
" might answer the ends proposed; and that one
" moiety of that revenue should be enjoyed by the
" lord Willoughby for his term.

" That the annuity of three hundred pounds by
" the year should be paid to the earl of Marl-
" borough, according to the original contract men-
" tioned before; and that the assignment, that his
" majesty would likewise be pleased to make to the
" earl of Kinnoul, should be first paid: and then
" that the remainder of that moiety should be re-
" ceived to the use of the creditors. And that
" when the lord Willoughby's term should be ex-
" pired, his majesty should be desired, after the re-
" servation of so much as he should think fit for the
" support of his governor, that all the remainder
" might be continued towards the creditors, until
" their just debts should be paid."

These particulars appearing reasonable to the lords, all persons concerned were called, and the same communicated to them, who appeared all well contented: and thereupon the lords resolved to present the same to his majesty, which they did accordingly at the board; and his majesty with a full approbation and advice of the whole council ratified the same. Whereupon that order was made by the king in council, which comprehends all the particulars mentioned before; which was delivered to the lord Willoughby, with his majesty's express command, " that he should see it punctually and

1668. " precisely executed;" and the like order was delivered by the clerk of the council to every other person mentioned, who desired the same: to which order he did for the more certainty refer himself, being in no degree confident (having then no other help than his memory) that all was set down with that exactness as it ought to be. And, he said, as he had throughout the whole affair taken very great pains to reduce it to that agreement, which at that time seemed to be satisfactory to all the persons concerned, so he had not the least temptation of particular benefit to himself; and he did still believe it to be very just, reasonable, and agreeable to his majesty's justice and goodness, all circumstances being considered. And though it may be, in strictness of law, and by the avoiding the grant made to the earl of Carlisle, his majesty might have possessed himself of the whole island, without any tender consideration of the planters or the creditors; he said, he was not ashamed that he had never given his majesty that or the like counsel, in that or any other matter of the like nature; and if he had, he was confident his majesty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

The other part of that article, "That he had " caused such as complained of the arbitrary govern- " ment in the plantations before the king and coun- " cil, to be long imprisoned for so doing," did refer, he supposed, to the commitment of one Farmer; who, being sent over a prisoner by the lord Willoughby in a ship that came from thence, made his appearance at Oxford, his majesty being then there in the sickness time, which, he said, was the first moment that he had ever heard of the man or the

matter. And at the same time one of the secretaries of state received a letter from the lord Willoughby, which was sent by the same ship, in which his lordship had sent a direct, full charge of mutiny, sedition, and treason against the said Farmer; and by his letter informed the secretary of all his behaviour and carriage, with all the circumstances thereof; and "that he had, by his seditious practices, "prevailed so far upon a disaffected party in that "island, that the lord Willoughby found himself "obliged in the instant to send him on board the "ship, without which he did apprehend a general "revolt in the island from his majesty's obedience:" and he did therefore desire, "that Farmer might not "be suffered to return thither before the island "should be reduced to a better temper." The man was called in before the king and council, and the charge that the lord Willoughby had sent read to him, the greatest part whereof he could not deny; and in his discourse upon it he behaved himself so peremptorily and insolently before the king, that his majesty thought it very necessary to commit him; nor did any one counsellor then present appear to think otherwise. 1668.

And he did confess, that the discharging him from his imprisonment was some time afterwards moved, and that he was always against his discharge; being of opinion that it would be impossible for the lord Willoughby, or any other governor in any of the plantations, to preserve his majesty's right and to support the government, if he should be so far discountenanced, that a man, being sent over by him as a prisoner under so particular and heinous a charge, should be upon his appearance

1668. here set at liberty. But his opinion was, "that he "should be sent back a prisoner thither, that he "might be tried by the law and justice of the "island, and receive condign punishment for his "offence:" and, he said, he could not deny but that he was still of the same opinion; and, if it were an error, it proceeded from the weakness of his understanding, which was not in his power to reform.

He said, what he had here set down was all that occurred to his memory with reference to the island of the Barbadoes, which being not particularly mentioned in the article, but comprehended under the general expression of his majesty's foreign plantations, and secretly and maliciously insinuated in private discourses, he took himself to be obliged to give some answer to what, how generally soever, had been charged. And he hoped it would not be imputed as a crime to him, if he had taken more pains than other men in that important service of his majesty concerning his foreign plantations, which he did not think had been enough taken to heart: and if his desire and readiness to take any pains, or give any assistance to the advancement of that service, had induced many persons to apply themselves to him on those occasions, he hoped it should not be charged upon him as over-activity, or ambition to engross more business into his hands than he was entitled to; for which he had this excuse to make for himself, that he found the pains he took to be acceptable to his majesty. And he was so far from having any particular design of advantage to himself, that he did profess and declare, that from all or any of his majesty's plantations he never had the least reward, or least present made to him; except

that the now lord Willoughby once told him, "that 1668.
"his brother had sent over some pieces of the speck-
"led wood which grows in Surinam, with direction,
"that if he liked it, he might have what he would
"of it;" whereupon he had some pieces of it, which he thought might have been applied to the making of cabinets or the adorning of wainscot, (but as they were very small, so the middle of every piece was wind-shaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any considerable use;) and except some blocks of walnut-tree which the governor of Virginia sent to him, and of which he made some table boards and frames for chairs; the workmanship whereof cost much more than the wood was worth. And these two particulars contained all the rewards and presents or profit, that ever he received from all his majesty's plantations, or any body to his use.

The tenth article was, "That he did reject and The tenth article.
"frustrate a proposal and undertaking approved
"by his majesty, for the preservation of Nevis
"and St. Christopher's, and reducing the French
"plantations to his majesty's obedience, after
"the commissions were drawn for that pur-
"pose; which was the occasion of such great
"losses and damages in those parts."

To which he answered, that he never did reject His answer.
or frustrate any such proposal or undertaking, never taking upon him in the least degree to make a judgment of enterprises of that nature; nor was ever any such proposition made to him. But he did very well remember, that his majesty himself did once deliver to the council a paper, which he said one of his servants (Mr. Marsh) had presented to him, containing some propositions for ships and men

1668. to be sent by his majesty for the recovery of St. Christopher's, which had been newly taken by the French. Upon the reading which paper and propositions, the same were referred to the consideration of the general, one of the secretaries of state, and to the vice-chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. Marsh, and such others as joined with him. And they were at the same time appointed to consider of another proposition delivered in writing by the now lord Willoughby, and some merchants of London who were planters in the Barbadoes, for the supplying and better securing that island, and the rest of those Caribbee islands; and for the reducing and recovering any of them which were or might be taken by the enemy. Upon the latter of which somewhat was afterwards done: and if the other concerning Nevis and St. Christopher's was rejected, of which, he said, he knew nothing, he presumed it was, because it either appeared unpracticable, or not consistent with his majesty's other affairs.

The eleventh article.

The eleventh article was, "That he advised and "effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French "king, being part of his majesty's dominions, "together with the ammunition, artillery, and "all sorts of stores there; and for no greater "value than the said ammunition, artillery, "and stores were worth."

His answer.

This whole transaction of the sale of Dunkirk, with all the circumstances, is so fully related in this discourse, in the place and at the time when this affair was transacted [n], that any repetition here is to

[n] Vol. ii. p. 242, &c.

no purpose: and whosoever turns back and reads it will clearly see, that he had no hand in the counsel; though he is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not necessary, as his majesty's affairs at that time stood. To which may be added, that the treatment he received after his coming into France was an unquestionable evidence, that that king did never take himself to be beholden to him for that or any other service; as in truth he never was. 1668.

The twelfth article was, "That he did unduly "cause his majesty's letters patents under the "great seal of England to one Dr. Crowther "to be altered, and the enrolment thereof to "be unduly razed." The twelfth article.

To which he said, that when he heard of this charge, he could not comprehend what the meaning thereof was, being most assured that he had never "caused any alteration to be made in any of his "majesty's letters patents under the great seal, or "the enrolment thereof to be razed." But upon inquiry he was informed, that Dr. Crowther, who was chaplain to his royal highness the duke of York, and had attended upon his person during the whole time that his highness was beyond the seas, upon his majesty's return into England, had obtained from the king his royal presentation to the parsonage of Treddington in the county of Worcester; which presentation, according to course, passed under the great seal of England. That when he brought his action against the intruder, who refused to give him possession, and the record was carried down to the assizes in the county[o]; when the doctor's coun- His answer.

[o] county] country

1668. cil were [p] to open his title, and thereupon to produce the king's presentation, they found, upon perusal thereof, that either by misinformation or negligence of the clerk, instead of the county of Worcester, where the rectory was, the county of Warwick was inserted: upon which mistake the doctor was necessitated to be nonsuited. And thereupon he forthwith made a journey to London to advise with his council, and the most experienced clerks, how to recover the misfortune that had befallen him, and that his majesty's right might not be destroyed by such an oversight in the clerk. And it seems he was by them advised, as the usual way in cases of that nature, to petition the king, "that in his majesty's "presence the presentation might be mended, and "Worcester inserted instead of Warwick, and that "thereupon the great seal might be again affixed to "it;" all which was done accordingly, as in such cases is usual.

The thirteenth article.

The thirteenth article was, "That he had in an "arbitrary way examined and drawn into "question divers of his majesty's subjects con-"cerning their lands, tenements, goods and "chattels, and properties; determined thereof "at the council-table, and stopped proceedings "at law, and threatened some that pleaded the "statute of 17 Car."

His answer.

To this he said, he must here again lament his own misfortunes, that he was exposed to public reproach under a general odious charge, without inserting any one particular to which he might make his defence. He had therefore no more to say, but

[p] were] was

that he was very innocent as to any crime laid to his charge in that article: and that he had been so far from "examining and drawing into question any "of his majesty's subjects concerning their lands, "tenements, goods and chattels, and properties, and "determining the same at the council-table, and "stopping proceedings at law;" that he did not know or believe, that any one case of that nature had been ever determined there, at least when he had been present. That he had always discountenanced such addresses, and procured all petitions of that kind to be rejected as often as they have been tendered: and, he said, he took himself obliged to say, for the vindication of his majesty's honour and justice, that there had not been so many years passed, since the erection of the council-table, with so little disturbance or disquiet to the subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods, and properties, as have [q] been since his majesty's happy return; nor hath the ordinary course of proceedings at law been less obstructed. 1668.

The fourteenth article was, "That he had caused "*quo warrantos* to be issued out against most "of the corporations in England, to the intent "that he might receive great sums of money "from them for renewing their charters; which "when they complied withal, he caused the "said *quo warrantos* to be discharged, and "prosecution thereon to cease." The fourteenth article.

To this he answered, that he never caused any *quo warranto* to issue out against any one corporation in England, but by his majesty's express com- His answer.

[q] have] hath,

1668. mand, or by order of the board; which was always upon some miscarriage or misbehaviour in the corporation: and that he did not remember that he had ever moved the king against any particular corporation, but that of Woodstock; and which his duty to his majesty had obliged him to do, being intrusted by his majesty with the command of his house and park there, and being his majesty's steward of his majesty's honour and manor of Woodstock, upon which that borough had always depended.

He said, his majesty having conferred that charge upon him, he was no sooner possessed of it by the death of the late earl of Lindsey, who enjoyed that place before, than he received a petition from several inhabitants and burgesses of the borough of Woodstock, who complained, "that the mayor and jus-"tices had lately procured their charter to be re-"newed, without the privity or consent of the bo-"rough; and that under pretence of renewing it, "they had procured many new clauses to be in-"serted, and thereby reduced much of the govern-"ment, which before depended on the whole cor-"poration, into their own hands; and had thereby "likewise procured a piece of ground, the benefit "whereof did formerly belong to all the burgesses, "and was usually applied to the relief of such of "them who were decayed in their estates, to be "now granted to the mayor and a select number of "the justices, and the profits thereof to be at their "disposal, to the great prejudice of the borough and "the inhabitants thereof." He referred this petition to Mr. Justice Morton, who lived within four or five miles thereof, and desired him to examine the truth of those allegations, and to certify him

whether the complaints were just and reasonable. 1668.
Whereupon he took the pains to go to the town, and to confer with the mayor and justices, and heard the allegations of the petitioners; and upon the whole matter certified, "that he found several im-
"portant alterations in the new charter from what
"had been in the old, and some new concessions."

And at the same time sir William Fleetwood, who was ranger of the parks, certified him, "that since
"the renewing their charter, the mayor and justices
"were not so good neighbours to his majesty's game
"as they had formerly been, and had withdrawn
"many of those services which they had used to
"perform: and that when any trespasses were com-
"mitted by those of the borough upon his majesty's
"woods or game, which happened very frequently,
"and complaint was thereof made to the mayor
"and justices, who had the sole jurisdiction within
"the borough; there was so slight and perfunctory
"examination thereof, that the prosecutors were
"wearied out, and no justice could be obtained."

That it was his duty to inform the king of those proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his direction to his attorney general to bring a *quo warranto*, and to repeal the charter which had been so unduly procured, and in which his majesty had been so grossly deceived and abused: and he did believe that there was the less vigour used in the prosecution of that *quo warranto* because the mayor and justices for some time had pretended that they would surrender the said charter, and receive a new one in such a manner as his majesty thought fit; though they afterwards changed

1668. their mind. And this was the only charter, he said, which he gave direction for the prosecution of.

Nor did he ever give order, upon the receipt of any money, to discharge any *quo warranto*, or cause the prosecution thereupon to cease: nor did he ever receive the least sum of money for the granting or renewing any charter, other than the usual fees received for the same by the clerk of the hanaper, and accounted to the seal; which fee, as he did remember, did amount to thirteen shillings and fourpence, or thereabouts.

The fifteenth article.

The fifteenth article was, "That he procured the "bills of settlement for Ireland, and received "great sums of money for the same, in a most "corrupt and unlawful manner."

His answer.

To this article there needs no other answer than what is contained in two [r] several places of this discourse, in which so full a relation is made of the whole settlement of Ireland, with all the circumstances that accompanied it, that it would be to no purpose to repeat it in this place. And therein it appears what money the chancellor received from Ireland, and how he came to receive [s] any, and by what injustice he came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the king himself, but to very many of those, who promoted the accusation directly contrary to what they knew to be true.

The sixteenth article.

The sixteenth article was, "That he had deluded "and betrayed his majesty and the nation in "all foreign treaties and negotiations relating "to the late war."

[r] Vol. i. p. 441. &c. and vol. ii. p. 17. &c.

[s] to receive] *Omitted in MS.*

To which he said, that he did heartily wish that those particular treaties, and the particulars in those treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that he had deluded and betrayed his majesty, that he might at large have set down whatsoever he had known or done in those treaties; and then it would easily have been made appear, how far he had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any ambition of his own that brought him to have a part in any treaty: he said, God knew, that he heartily wished to have meddled in nothing, but the administration of that great office the king had thought fit to have trusted him with. But his majesty had then so good an opinion of him, that he required and commanded his service in many of those treaties: and therefore it would be necessary for him, according to the method he had hitherto used, to mention every particular treaty that had been entered into since the time of his majesty's return into England, and the part that he had in it; being as willing to be called to the strictest account for any other treaty he had been engaged in when he had been abroad, or for any counsel he had ever given in his life, public or private; wherein, he doubted not, he should be found to have behaved himself (according to the weak abilities God had given him) with fidelity to his master, and with all imaginable affection to his country, how unhappily soever he had been represented. 1668. His answer.

The first treaty, he said, was with the crown of Portugal; in which he was none of the commissioners who treated, and was only present when any report was made by the commissioners to the king,

1668. or to the council-board, where all the articles were debated; and he did not remember that there had been any difference of opinion upon any of them: and that treaty had been generally held the best that hath been made with any crown, the merchants having thereby greater advantages in trade than they have in any other place, besides many other great benefits, with a great enlargement of his majesty's empire.

The second treaty was with the States of the United Provinces; in which likewise he was none of the commissioners who treated: but all that was by them transacted was still brought to the council-board, and debated there in his majesty's presence; in which the rule by which his majesty guided himself was, that he would not remit any of those concessions which had been formerly made by them in their last treaty with Cromwell; and their unwillingness to consent to that was the reason that their ambassadors proceeded so slowly. And his majesty had the less reason to be solicitous for expedition, because the king of France had given his royal word, and proposed it himself, "that the two crowns might "proceed in the several treaties with the Dutch to-"gether, that so they might be brought to those "good conditions, that they might live like good "neighbours with both the crowns, which," he observed, "they were not naturally inclined to do;" and promised positively, "that for his part he would "not conclude any thing with the Dutch, before "he had entirely communicated the same to his "majesty." Notwithstanding which engagement, France entered into and finished their treaty; and

in it made that secret article, which they declared afterwards to be the ground of[t] their obligation to assist the Dutch in the ensuing war. However, his majesty proceeded not, till the Holland ambassadors consented to all that had been before granted to Cromwell: which being done, the peace was made and ratified on both sides; and without doubt was with more advantage and honour to the English, than ever had been provided by any former treaty between the crown of England and those States. 1668.

From the two crowns of Sweden and Denmark ambassadors extraordinary arrived at London shortly after the king's return, and the several treaties were made with both those crowns before the departure of the ambassadors: in neither of which treaties the chancellor was a commissioner, nor knew any thing that passed in either, but as it was represented at the council-board, and debated in his majesty's presence; nor did he ever hear that either of them was reckoned a disadvantageous treaty, both of them containing as much benefit to the English as any treaties which had been made before with those crowns. He said, it was very true, that there were some unusual expressions of kindness and friendship in the treaty with Denmark; which, in respect of that king's being at that time in a very low condition, under the disadvantageous conditions of the treaty at Copenhagen newly submitted to, and under almost as ill a treaty extorted from that crown by the Dutch, and yet being in terrible apprehension of some new oppression from the one and from the other, the ambassador did very earnestly solicit to

[t] of] and

1668. have inserted; and which were upon great deliberation allowed and inserted by his majesty's own particular direction, in consideration of the near alliance in blood between his majesty and that king, and the civilities and obligations his majesty had received from Denmark, during his being in Holland after the murder of his father, and during his being in Scotland, when the king of Denmark sent him horses, arms, and ammunition. Of which his majesty had so great a sense, that he was often heard to say, "that if it had pleased God to have brought "him home before that disadvantageous peace at "Copenhagen had been made," (which had been done by the countenance of the English ships, and the threats of those who were then ambassadors from the governing power in England,) "he would have "done the best he could to have defended and pro-"tected him:" and therefore he did very readily yield to that article drawn by the ambassador; his majesty declaring at the same time, "that he was very will-"ing that those princes, who were neighbours to Den-"mark, and from whom that kingdom apprehended "new oppressions, should know his majesty's reso-"lutions to support that king, and to defend him "from new injuries;" to which the policy of his government, as well as his friendship, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the king of Denmark did shortly after make very ill returns to his majesty for that his so signal affection.

These were all the treaties made by the king before the war with the Dutch, (for there was very little progress made either with France or Spain, for the reasons mentioned before,) except only a short treaty with the elector of Brandenburgh; which

treaty was, for the most part, particular with reference only to the prince of Orange, his majesty's nephew, and for the better ordering his affairs. In which treaty his majesty likewise employed five or six of his council: and the few articles between his majesty and that elector in point of state were likewise transacted by them, and debated and considered at the council-board, and in which all things were inserted for his majesty's benefit and service; and if they had not been afterwards violated by the elector, the king would have reaped much fruit and advantage even from that treaty. 1668.

After the war was entered into with Holland, his majesty sent Mr. Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to dispose those two crowns to a confidence in each other, and then to dispose them both to adhere to his majesty, or at least not to assist or favour the Dutch. The treaty with Sweden succeeded to his majesty's wish, and was concluded in a league defensive, very much to the king's satisfaction, and with the full approbation of the whole board; that crown having manifested so much affection, and such an inclination to an entire conjunction with him, that upon very reasonable conditions they would have been induced to have entered into a league offensive, and even into the present war against the Dutch: in order to which, they sent their ambassadors to the king at the same time when Mr. Coventry returned, and they became the mediators for the peace; having first declared to his majesty, "that if the treaty should prove ineffectual, the crown of Sweden would immediately "join with his majesty against the Dutch." What became of the other treaty with Denmark is publicly

1668. known, his majesty having declared to all the world how perfidiously he was treated by the Dane.

There remains only one other treaty to be mentioned, which is the last with the Dutch, upon which the peace was made: and therefore it will be necessary to set down the inducements to that treaty, the whole progress and conclusion of it; by all which it will easily appear that his majesty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if he were, that it was not done by him.

After so many encounters and various successes in the war, which had been carried on with a much greater expense than his majesty at his first entrance into it was persuaded it would cost him; when he saw the strength and power of the Dutch so much increased by the conjunction of France and Denmark, who supplied them with money, ships, and, what they more wanted, with men as many as they desired; and that all the propositions he could make to Spain could not induce them to enter into such an alliance with him, as might embark them against France, notwithstanding it was evident to all but themselves, that the French resolved to break the peace with them, having at that time published those declarations which they afterwards made the ground of the war: his majesty clearly discerned, that the Dutch grew less weary of the war than they had before seemed to have been; and that they would be able, with that assistance and conjunction, to continue the war with less inconvenience than his majesty was like to do.

He had found it necessary for straitening the trade of the enemy, (the depriving them of which could only induce them to desire a peace, and which he

could not do by the strength of his own ships, which were still kept together to encounter their fleet,) to grant commissions upon letters of marque to as many private men of war as desired the same, and with such strict orders and limitations as are necessary in those cases; and he found indeed the advantage very great, in the damage those men of war did to the enemy, which was considerable, and gave them great trouble. On the other side, the common seamen chose much rather to go on board those men of war, where their profit out of their shares of the booty was greater, and their hazards much less, than in the king's ships, where they got only blows without booty, though their pay and provisions were much greater than they had been in any former time: so that when the royal fleet was to be set out, there was greater difficulty in procuring seamen and mariners to man it. 1668.

And then, whereas the advancement of trade was made the great end of the war, it was now found necessary to suppress all trade, that there might be mariners enough to furnish the ships for the carrying on the war. And this inconvenience produced another mischief: for by the great diminution and even suppression of trade, there was likewise so great a fall in the customs, excise, and all other branches of the king's revenue, that it was evident enough that his majesty would have little to carry on the war, but what should arise by imposition in parliament upon the people; who already complained loudly of the decay of their rents, of the small and low prices which their commodities yielded by the cessation of trade, and especially by the carrying all the money in specie from the several counties to

1668. London for the carrying on the war. And the parliament itself appeared so weary of it, that, instead of granting a new supply proportionable to the charge, they fell upon expedients to raise money by the sale of part of the king's revenue, which was already too small to support the ordinary and necessary expense of the crown.

But above all, his majesty was most discouraged by the extreme license of the seamen in general; but especially of those who were called privateers, set out in the particular ships of war upon adventure, who made no distinction between friends and foes; but, as if the sea had been their own quarters, they seized upon all ships which passed within their view, and either pillaged them entirely, and so dismissed them, (which they usually did to those which they foresaw would be delivered by the course of justice,) or else brought them into the harbours, after they had taken from them what they best liked. And then the formal proceedings in the court of admiralty were so dilatory, and involved in so many appeals, that the prosecution of justice for injuries received grew as grievous as the injury itself; which drew an universal clamour from all nations, "that without being parties to the war they were "all treated as enemies."

France had made the damage they had this way received, and the interruption of their trade, a great part of their quarrel, and one ground of their conjunction with the Dutch. From Spain, which really wished better to us than to our enemies, the complaints were as great; "that their whole trade was "destroyed; their ships of Flanders, which supplied "Spain with what they wanted for themselves, and

" with what was necessary for their trade and inter- 1668.
" course with the Indies, were all taken as Dutch,
" because it was very hard to distinguish them by
" their language:" which was likewise the case of all the Hanse-towns, which made grievous complaints, and had without doubt received great damage. Those princes of Italy whose dominions reached to the sea, as the two republics of Venice and Genoa, and the duke of Florence, expostulated very grievously for their ships taken by those freebooters of Scotland and of Ireland, both which nations enriched themselves very much upon such depredations. And how much soever the royal navy was weakened every day, the number of those men of war wonderfully increased; so that those kind of ships, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, covered the whole ocean: and of those ships which were taken and carried into Scotland or Ireland, (in England there were many redeliveries,) it was observed, that there were *vestigia nulla retrorsum.* Even Sweden itself, with whom a new stricter alliance was entered into at that time, with as severe restrictions to that license of the men of war as could be contrived for the liberty and security of the trade of that crown, complained exceedingly of the violation of all those concessions and provisions, and that their ships were every day taken and plundered. And this universal complaint began to awaken all princes to a jealousy, that the English endeavoured to restrain all trade, till they could make themselves the entire masters of it, and by their naval power put some imposition upon the whole traffick of Europe.

It is very true, at the first entrance into the war there had been many unskilful expressions even in

1668. the parliament itself, as well as in the frequent discourses of parliament-men, "that by this war, and "by suppressing the power of the Dutch at sea," (of which they made not the least doubt,) "the king "would be able to give the law to all the trade of "the world, and that no ships should pass the sea "without paying some tribute to England:" which liberty and rashness of discourse made great impression upon those who wished mischief enough to the Dutch, till they saw what danger might ensue to themselves by the success of the English; and thereupon wished that they might break themselves upon each other, without advantage to either party. And this general distemper and complaint made the deeper impression upon the king, by his discerning an extreme difficulty, if not an impossibility, to give any just remedy to it; and consequently, that he should be shortly looked upon as a common enemy.

He had taken very great pains, upon deliberate consultations, to suppress that odious irregularity and destructive license that was practised amongst the seamen, and had in many particular cases himself examined the excess, and caused exemplary justice to be done upon the offenders, and restitution to be made of what had been taken, at least of what was left; for no justice could preserve the injured persons from being losers. He had granted such rules and privileges and protection to the ports in Flanders, and to others of his allies, as themselves desired, and looked upon as full security; but then he quickly found, that from those very ports and in those very ships which enjoyed those privileges, the trade of the Dutch was driven on: so that it was

evident that by that liberty, which other nations thought themselves in justice entitled to, if not restrained, the Hollanders themselves would be easily able to carry on their whole trade in the ships of Flanders, Hamburgh, and the other free towns, or in their own ships owned by the other; and that the restraint would likewise be impossible, without a total suppression of those men of war, and a revocation of all commissions granted to them or any of them, which would likewise be attended with the freedom and security of trade to all his majesty's enemies. 1668.

In the last encounter at sea, the Prince Royal, and three other of his majesty's navy, had been lost; and another, the London, had been burned in the river by the negligence of the seamen; for there was never any discovery made, that there was any purpose or malice in it. The French had obliged themselves, that the duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, should, with the whole fleet under his command, amounting to eighteen good ships, join with the Dutch; and the king of Denmark was likewise engaged to send all his great ships, which were ten or a dozen, in order to the like conjunction: so that it was evident to his majesty, that the enemy would be much superior to him in strength and power, though he had been able to have manned and set out all his royal navy; which he well foresaw he should not be able to do, both for want of money and want of seamen, who were already in great disorder and mutiny for want of their pay, of which there was indeed a great arrear due to them. And, which was worse, there was grown such an animosity amongst the principal officers of the fleet be-

1668. tween themselves, that the whole discipline was corrupted; so that it was hard to resolve into what hands to put the government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

Upon which, and the whole state of affairs, and upon deliberation and frequent consultation with the principal officers of the sea, and such others whose experience in such matters rendered them most capable to give advice, the king found it most counsellable to resolve to make a defensive war the next year, and to lay up all his great ships, and to have some squadrons of the lighter vessels to continue in several quarters assigned to them, which should be ready to take all advantages which should be offered; and that there should be likewise ready in the river another good squadron of ships against the end of the summer, which being ready to join with those which lay out, when the enemy was weary and their ships foul, would be able to take many notable advantages upon them; of which they who advised it were so confident, that they did believe this defensive way thus ordered and prosecuted would prove a greater damage to the enemy in their trade, and all other respects, than they had ever undergone. And in all this counsel and resolution the chancellor had no other part than being present; and, not understanding the subject-matter of debate, could not be able to answer any of the reasons that had been alleged.

These considerations, upon a full survey of his ill condition at home and abroad, induced the king to wish that there were a good end of the war; of which inclination his majesty vouchsafed to inform the chancellor, well knowing that he would be very

glad to contribute all he could to it, as a thing he desired most in this world, and which he thought would prove the greatest benefit to the king and kingdom; and his majesty likewise told him, "that "he found all those, who had been most forward "and impatient to enter into this war, were now "weary of it, and would be glad of a peace:" so that there remained now nothing to do, but for his majesty to advise with those whom he thought fit, (for there seemed many reasons to conceal both the inclination to peace, and the resolution not to set out a summer fleet, from being publicly known,) what method to observe, and what expedients to make use of, for the better procuring this wished for peace, without appearing to be too solicitous or importunate for it, or so weary of the war as in truth he was. And to this consultation the king was pleased to call together with his royal brother, prince Rupert, the chancellor, the general, the lord treasurer, and those other honourable persons with whom he used to advise in his most secret and most important affairs. 1668.

That which occurred first to consider was, whether there were any hope to divide the French from the Dutch; upon which supposition the prospect was not unpleasant, the war with one of them being hopefully enough to be pursued; the conjunction was only formidable. And to this purpose several attempts had been made both in France and in Holland; both sides being equally resolved not to separate from each other, till a joint peace should be made with England, though they both owned a jealousy of each other: those of Holland having a terrible apprehension and foresight of the king of

1668. France's designs upon Flanders, which would make his greatness too near a neighbour to their territories; besides that the logic of his demands upon the devolution and nullity of the treaty upon the marriage was equally applicable to their whole interest, as it was to their demands from the king of Spain. And France, upon all the attacks they had made both in France with the Dutch ambassador there, and in Holland by their own ambassador, found clearly, that they were to expect no assistance from the Dutch in their designs, and that at least they wished them ill success, and would probably contribute to it upon the first occasion: and this made them willing to put an end to their so strict alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable advantage, except in weakening an ally from whom they might probably receive much more advantage.

However, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any treaty apart, though they both seemed willing and desirous of a peace; in order to which, the Dutch, through the Swedes ambassadors' hands, had writ to the king, "to offer a "treaty in any such neutral place as his majesty "should make choice of;" professing, "that they "should make no scruple of sending their ambassa- "dors directly to his majesty, but that their con- "junction with the other two crowns, who required "a neutral place, would not admit that condescen- "sion." And at the same time they intimated to the Swedes ambassadors, "that the king of France "would not send his ambassadors into Flanders, or "any place of the king of Spain's dominions;" and therefore wished, "that his majesty would make

" choice of Dusseldorp, Cologne, Francfort, or Ham- 1668.
" burgh, or any other place that his majesty should
" think more convenient than the other, under that
" exception:" all which places, and in truth any other out of the king of Spain's dominions, were at such a distance, (the winter being now near over,) that there could be no reasonable expectation of the fruit of the treaty in time to prevent more acts of hostility.

How the treaty came afterwards to be introduced by overtures from France, and what preliminaries were first proposed from thence by the earl of St. Alban's, and how agreed to by his majesty; how the place of the treaty came to be adjusted, the ambassadors chosen, and the whole progress thereupon, and the publication of the articles of the peace; is so particularly set forth in this narrative before[u], that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the ambassadors repairing, as is there said, to the king, and giving him an account of all that had passed before any thing was concluded, and every particular having been debated at the council-board and consented to; he said, he could not understand how his majesty could be deluded or betrayed in that treaty, which passed with such a full examination and disquisition, and in all which debates his majesty himself had taken the pains to discourse more, and to enlarge in the answer to all objections which were foreseen, than he had been ever known to have done upon any other article.

It is very true, that the chancellor had been commanded by the king to write most of the letters

[u] Page 203, &c. and p. 260, &c. of this volume.

1668. which had been sent to the earl of St. Alban's, from the time of his going over concerning the treaty, his lordship having likewise directed most of his letters to him; and most of the despatches to the ambassadors were likewise prepared by him, they being by their instructions (without his desire or privity) to transmit all accounts to one of the secretaries or to himself. But, he said, it was as true, that he never received a letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his majesty's presence, to those lords of the council who were assigned for that service, where directions were given what answer should be returned; and he never did return any answer to either of them, without having first read it to the council, or having first sent it to one of the secretaries, to be read to his majesty. And he did with a very good conscience protest to all the world, that he never did the least thing, or gave the least advice, relating to the war, or relating to the peace, which he would not have done, if he had been to expire the next minute, and to have given an account thereof to God Almighty.

And as his majesty prudently, piously, and passionately desired to put an end to that war, so no man appeared more delighted with the peace when it was concluded, than his majesty himself did; though, he said, as far as he could make any judgment of public affairs, the publication of that peace was attended with the most universal joy and acclamations of the whole nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it easy to forget the general consternation that the city and people of all conditions were in, when the Dutch came into the river as high as Chatham; and when the distemper in the court itself

was so great, that many persons of quality and title, in the galleries and privy lodgings, very indecently every day vented their passions in bitter execrations against those who had first counselled and brought on the war, wishing[x] that an end were put to it by any peace; some of which persons, within very few days after, as bitterly inveighed against the peace itself, and against the promoters of it. But, he said, he was yet so far from repenting or being ashamed of the part he had in it, that he looked upon it as a great honour, that the last service he performed for his majesty was the sealing the proclamations, and other instructions, for the conclusion and perfection of that peace, the great seal of England being that very day sent for and taken from him. 1668.

The seventeenth and last article was, "That he "was a principal author of that fatal counsel "of dividing the fleet about June 1666." The seventeenth article.

For answer to this, he set down at large an account of all the agitation that was in council upon that affair, and that the dividing and separation of the fleet at that time was by the election and advice of the two generals, and not by the order or direction of the council: all which hath been at large, in that part of this discourse which relates to the transactions of that time[y], set down, and therefore needs not to be again inserted. His answer.

He took notice of the prejudice that might befall him, in the opinion of good men, by his absenting himself, and thereby declining the full examination and trial which the public justice would have allow-

[x] wishing] and wishing

[y] P. 69, &c. of this volume.

1668. ed him; which obliged him to set down all the particulars which passed from the taking the seal from him, the messages he had received by the bishop of Hereford, and finally the advice and command the bishop of Winchester brought him from the duke of York with the approbation of the king. Upon all which, and the great distemper that appeared in the two houses at that time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, he did hope, that all dispassioned men would believe that he had not deserted and betrayed his own innocence; but on the contrary, that he had complied with that obligation and duty which he had always paid to his majesty and to his service, in choosing at that time to sacrifice his own honour to the least intimation of his majesty's pleasure, and when the least inconvenience might have befallen it by his obstinacy, though in his own defence: and concluded, that though his enemies, who had by all the evil arts imaginable contrived his destruction, had yet the power and the credit to infuse into his majesty's ears stories of words spoken and things done by him, of all which he was as innocent as he was at the time of his birth, and other jealousies of a nature so odious, that themselves had not the confidence publicly to own; yet, he said, notwithstanding all those disadvantages for the present, he did not despair, but that his majesty, in his goodness and justice, might in due time discover the foul artifices which had been used to gain credit with him, and would reflect graciously upon some poor services (how overrewarded soever) heretofore performed by him, the memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the banishing him out of his country, and forc-

ing him to seek his bread in foreign parts at this age, is a very severe judgment. However, he was confident that posterity will clearly discern his innocence and integrity in all those particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciously laid to his charge by men who did nothing before, or have done any thing since, that will make them be thought to be wise or honest men; and will believe his misfortunes to have been much greater than his faults. 1668.

The chancellor enjoys great tranquillity of mind in his banishment.

As soon as he had digested and transmitted this his answer and vindication to his children, which he did in a short time after his arrival at Montpelier, he appeared to all men who conversed with him to be entirely possessed of so much tranquillity of mind, and so unconcerned in all that had been done to him or said of him, that men believed the temper to be affected with much art; and that it[z] could not be natural in a man, who was known to have so great an affection for his own country, the air and climate thereof; and to take so much delight and pleasure in his relations, from whom he was now banished, and at such a distance, that he could not wish that they should undergo the inconveniences in many respects which were like to attend their making him many visits. But when there was visibly always in him such a vivacity and cheerfulness as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon such ill news as came every week out of England, of the improvement of the power and insolence of his enemies; all men concluded, that he had somewhat about him above a good constitution, and prosecuted him with all the

[z] that it] *Not in MS.*

1668. offices of civility and respect they could manifest towards a stranger.

Two apprehensions give him some uneasiness. 1. The insufficiency of his fortune.

There were two inconveniences which he foresaw might happen, and could not but discompose the serenity of his mind. The first, and that which gave him least apprehension, though he could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the trouble of those thoughts which could not be separated from it, was, how he should be able to draw as much money out of England as would support his expense; which, though husbanded with as much frugality as could be used with any decency, he foresaw would amount to a greater proportion than he had proposed to himself. His indisposition and infirmity, which either kept him under the actual and sharp visitation of the gout, or, when the vigour of that was abated, in much weakness of his limbs when the pain was gone, were so great, that he could not be without the attendance of four servants about his own person; having, in those seasons when he enjoyed most health and underwent least pain, his knees, legs, and feet so weak, that he could not walk, especially up or down stairs, without the help of two men; and when he was seized upon by the gout, they were not able to perform the office of watching: so that to the English servants which he had brought with him, which with a cook, and a maid to wash his linen, amounted to six or seven, he was compelled to take four or five French servants for the market and other offices of the house; and his lodging cost him above two hundred pistoles. But all the apprehensions of this kind were upon short reflections composed, in the assurance he had of the affection and piety of his children, who he believed

This soon removed by his confidence in the piety of his children.

out of his and their own state would raise enough for his unavoidable disbursements. 1668.

2. The fear of being again persecuted abroad.

The other apprehension stuck closer to him, and made him even tremble in the very reflection. He could not forget the treatment he had between Calais and Roan, and the strange violent importunity that was used to him to get out of the kingdom, when he had not strength to get out of his bed. And though he was now at ease from such inhuman pressures; yet his enemies, who had even extorted that importunity from a people not inclined to such incivilities, had still the same power, and the same malice, and a froppish kind of insolence, that delighted to deprive him of any thing that pleased him, and manifestly pleased itself in vexing him. And if they should again prevail with the same ministers to remove him from his quiet, and oblige him to new journeys, the same spirit would chase him from place to place; there being none in view like to be superior to their influence, when France had been subdued by it. So that besides the impossibility of preserving the peace and repose of his mind in so grievous a fatigue, and continual torture of his body, he saw no hope of rest but in his grave. And against this kind of tyranny he could by no reasonable discourse with himself provide any security, or stock of courage to support it.

His friend the abbot Mountague, who was the only advocate he had to that court, used all his powerful rhetoric to allay those fears, and to comfort him against those melancholic apprehensions, by assuring him, "that the ministers were far from such "inclinations, and that nothing but reason of state "could dispose them to that severity:" yet he pre-

1668. pared him not to think of removing from Montpelier, without first acquainting that court with it. And when afterwards he proposed to him, "that he "might have leave to reside in Orleans, or some "other city, at such a nearer distance from England, "that his children or friends might more easily repair "to him;" the court[a] did not like the proposition, but proposed Moulins, whither they would not yet give him a pass, till first their ambassador in England should know that it would not be unacceptable to his majesty: so that he found himself upon the matter not only banished from his country, but confined to Montpelier, without any assurance that he should not be again shortly banished from thence.

This removed by an entire resignation to Providence.

However after he had revolved all the expedients that occurred to him for the prevention of such a mischief, he concluded there was no other remedy to be applied to those contingencies, than in acquiescing in the good pleasure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no discretion or foresight of his own could prevent. And in this composure of mind he betook himself to his books, and to the entertainment and exercise of such thoughts, as were most like to divert him from others which would be more unpleasant.

Reflections on his undeserved treatment.

God blessed him very much in this composure and retreat. And the first consolation he administered to himself was from the reflection upon the wonderful and unusual proceedings and prosecution that had been against him, in another kind of manner, and after another measure, than used to be practised by the most bitter enemies, and than was

[a] the court] but the court

necessary to their ends and advantages who had contrived them: not to mention the malice and injustice of their first design of removing him from the trust and credit he had with the king, and to alienate his majesty's affection and kindness from him, to which the corrupt hopes and expectation of benefit to themselves might incline them; and then such unrighteous ends cannot naturally be prosecuted but by as unrighteous means. When they were not only privy to but contrivers of his escape, which they looked upon as attended with more benefit to them than his imprisonment or the taking his life could have been; when they were secure of his absence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the bill of banishment, by which they broke their faith and promises to the king, and made him depart from his own resolutions: to what purpose was all their other prosecution of him both at home and abroad, more derogatory to the king's honour, and that innate goodness of nature and clemency that all men know he abounds in, than mischievous to him? why must he be absurdly charged with counsels and actions, of which he could never be suspected? and why must his name be struck out of all books of council, and catalogues and lists of servants, that it might not appear that he had ever been a counsellor of state, or a magistrate of justice; a method that was never practised towards the greatest malefactor? to what worthy or necessary end could that exorbitant demand be made and pursued in France, to expose him and the honour of that crown to the general reproach of all men, with such unparalleled circumstances? 1668.

1668. These very extraordinary attempts and unheard of devices seemed to all wise men but the last effort of vulgar spirited persons, and the faint grasping of impotent malice; and instead of depressing the spirits of him they hated, raised his confidence, that God would not permit such gross inventions of very ill and shortsighted men to triumph in the ruin of an honest man, whose heart was always fixed upon his protection, and whom he had so often preserved from more powerful stratagems: and he did really believe, that the divine justice would at some time expose the pride and ambition of those men to the infamy they deserved.

Which raise his confidence in God.

To those persons with whom he did with the most freedom communicate, he did often profess, that upon the strictest inquisition he could make into all his actions from the time of the king's return, when his condition was generally thought to have been very prosperous, though at best it was exercised with many thorns which made it uneasy, he could not reflect upon any one thing he had done, (amongst many which he doubted not were justly liable to the reproach of weakness and vanity,) of which he was so much ashamed, as he was of the vast expense he had made in the building of his house; which had more contributed to that gust of envy that had so violently shaken him, than any misdemeanour that he was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely discomposed his whole affairs, and broken his estate. For all which he had no other excuse to make, than that he was necessitated to quit the habitation he was in at Worcester-house, which the owner required, and for which he had always paid five hundred pounds yearly rent, and

He reflects on his conduct from the time of the king's return;

And blames himself chiefly for his expense in building.

could not find any convenient house to live in, except he built one himself, (to which he was naturally too much inclined;) and that he had so much encouragement thereunto from the king himself, that his majesty vouchsafed to appoint the place upon which it should stand, and graciously to bestow the inheritance of the land upon him after a short term of years, which he purchased from the present possessor: which approbation and bounty of his majesty was his greatest encouragement. And his own unskilfulness in architecture, and the positive undertaking of a gentleman, (who had skill enough, and a good reward for his skill,) that the expense should not amount to a third part of what in truth it afterwards amounted to, which he could without eminent inconvenience have disbursed, involved him[a] in that rash enterprise, that proved so fatal and mischievous to him; not only in the accumulation of envy and prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the entanglement of a great debt, that broke all his measures; and, under the weight of his sudden, unexpected misfortune, made his condition very uneasy, and near insupportable. 1668.

And this he took all occasions to confess, and to reproach himself with the folly of it. And yet, when his children and his nearest friends proposed and advised the sale of it in his banishment, for the payment of his debts, and making some provision for two younger children; he remained still so much infatuated with the delight he had enjoyed, that, though he was deprived of it, he hearkened very unwillingly to the advice; and expressly refused to

[a] him] *Omitted in MS.*

1668. approve it, until such a sum should be offered for it, as held some proportion to the money he had laid out; and could not conceal some confidence he had, that he should live to be restored to it, and to be vindicated from the brand he suffered under, except his particular complete ruin were involved in the general distraction and confusion of his country, of which he had a more sensible and serious apprehension.

His three acquiescences, or retreats from public business.

He was wont to say, "that of the infinite blessings which God had vouchsafed to confer upon him almost from his cradle," amongst which he delighted in the reckoning up many signal instances, "he esteemed himself so happy in none as in his "three acquiescences," which he called "his three "vacations and retreats he had in his life enjoyed "from business of trouble and vexation;" and in every of which God had given him grace and opportunity to make full reflections upon his actions, and his observations upon what he had done himself, and what he had seen others do and suffer; to repair the breaches in his own mind, and to fortify himself with new resolutions against future encounters, in an entire resignation of all his thoughts and purposes into the disposal of God Almighty, and in a firm confidence of his protection and deliverance in all the difficulties he should be obliged to contend with; towards[b] the obtaining whereof, he renewed those vows and promises of integrity and hearty endeavour to perform his duty, which are the only means to procure the continuance of that protection and deliverance.

[b] towards] and towards

The first of these recesses or acquiescences was, his remaining and residing in Jersey, when the prince of Wales, his now majesty, first went into France upon the command of the queen his mother, contrary, as to the time, to the opinion of the council the king his father had directed him to govern himself by, and, as they conceived, contrary to his majesty's own judgment, the knowing whereof they only waited for; and his stay there, during that time that his highness first remained at Paris and St. Germain's, until his expedition afterwards to the fleet and in the Downs. His second was, when he was sent by his majesty as his ambassador, together with the lord Cottington, into Spain; in which two full years were spent before he waited upon the king again. And the third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment. In which three acquiescences, he had learned more, knew himself and other men much better, and served God and his country with more devotion, and he hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active part of his life. 1668. The great benefits he received in them.

He used to say, that he spent too much of his younger years in company and conversation, and too little with books; which was in some degree repaired, by the greatest part of his conversation being with persons of very eminent parts of learning and virtue, and never with men of loose and debauched manners. And he took great pleasure frequently to remember and mention the names of those with whom he kept most company, when he first entered into the world; many whereof lived to be very eminent in church and state: to whose information and example, and to the affection, awe, and A summary recapitulation of his life.

1668. reverence, he had to their persons, he did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable in[c] him. He did very much affect to be loved and esteemed amongst men of good name and reputation, which made him warily avoid the company of loose and dissolute men, and to preserve himself from any notable scandal of any kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *castè*. Nor was the conversation he lived in liable to any other exception, than that it was with men superior to him in their quality and their fortunes, which exposed him to greater expense, than his fortune would warrant: and yet it pleased God to preserve him from ever undergoing any reproach or inconvenience.

He accused himself of entering too soon out of a life of ease and pleasure and too much idleness, into a life of too much business, that required more labour and experience and knowledge than he was supplied for; for he put on his gown as soon as he was called to the bar; and, by the countenance of persons in place and authority, as soon engaged himself in the business of the profession as he put on his gown, and to that degree in practice, that gave little time for study, that he had too much neglected before; besides that he still indulged to his beloved conversation. Few years passed before the troubles in Scotland appeared, and the little parliament was convened; which being dissolved and presently a new one called, he was a member in both, and wholly gave himself up to the public affairs agitated there, and where he was enough esteemed and employed, till the spirit reigned there, and drove men of his principles from thence.

[c] in] to

He was entirely and without reserve trusted, 1668.
with two other of his friends, in all the king's affairs which related to the parliament, before the rebellion appeared; which brought him into prejudice and jealousy with many of both houses, who before were very kind to him. And in the beginning of the rebellion he was sworn of the privy-council and made chancellor of the exchequer: and from this time the pains he took, and the great fatigue he underwent, were notorious to all men; insomuch as, the refreshment of dinner excepted, for he never supped, he had very little of the day, and not much of the night, vacant from the most important business.

When the prince was separated from his father, the king commanded him to attend his highness into the west, under more than a common trust: and[d] the inequality of humours amongst the counsellors, the wants and necessities of the prince's little court and family, the want of wisdom in his governor, that made him want that respect from the prince and all other people that was due to him, the faction amongst all the country gentlemen, and, above all, the ill success in the king's affairs, and the prevalence of the parliament in all places, made the province he had very uncomfortable and uneasy. The unavoidable necessity of transporting the person of the prince out of the kingdom (which was intrusted only to four of the council by the king, and by his command reserved from his governor and another) when there should be apparent danger of his falling into the hands of the rebels, and the as necessary deferring it till that danger was even in view, and

[d] and] and by

1668. the designs of some of the prince's servants with the county to obstruct and prevent it when it was in view; the executing it in a seasonable article of time before or in the moment that it was suspected, and disguising it by a retreat to Scilly, and staying there till they could be provided for a farther voyage; and then the prince's remove from thence to Jersey, the contests which happened there between the counsellors upon the queen's commands for his highness's present repair into France, her majesty's declared displeasure, and the personal animosities which grew from thence between the persons in the greatest trust; were all particulars of that weight and distraction, that made great impression upon his mind and faculties, which needed much reflection and contemplation to compose them.

His first retreat in the island of Jersey.

This first retreat gave him opportunity and leisure to call himself to a strict account for whatsoever he had done, upon revolving of all his particular actions, and the behaviour of other men; and to compose those affections and allay those passions, which, in the warmth of perpetual actions and chafed by continual contradictions, had need of rest, and cool[e] and deliberate cogitations. He had now time to mend his understanding, and to correct the defects and infirmities of his nature, by the observation of and reflection upon the grounds and successes of those counsels he had been privy to, upon the several tempers and distempers of men employed both in the martial and civil affairs of the greatest importance, and upon the experience he had and the observation he had made in the three or four last

[e] cool] cold

years, where the part he had acted himself differed so much from all the former transactions and commerce of his life. 1668.

He had originally in his nature so great a tenderness and love towards mankind, that he did not only detest all calumniating and detraction towards the lessening the credit or parts or reputation of any man, but did really believe that all men were such as they seemed or appeared to be; that they had the same justice and candour and goodness in their nature, that they professed to have; and thought no men to be wicked and dishonest and corrupt, but those who in their manners and lives gave unquestionable evidence of it; and even amongst those he did think most to err and do amiss, rather out of weakness and ignorance, for want of friends and good counsel, than out of the malice and wickedness of their natures.

But now, upon the observation and experience he had in the parliament, (and he believed he could have made the discovery no where else, without doubt not so soon,) he reformed all those mistakes, and mended that easiness of his understanding. He had seen those there, upon whose ingenuity and probity he would willingly have deposited all his concernments of this world, behave themselves with that signal uningenuity and improbity that must pull up all confidence by the roots; men of the most unsuspected integrity, and of the greatest eminence for their piety and devotion, most industrious to impose upon and to cozen men of weaker parts and understanding, upon the credit of their sincerity, to concur with them in mischievous opinions, which they did not comprehend, and which conduced to

1668. dishonest actions they did not intend. He saw the most bloody and inhuman rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, with such art and subtilty, and so great pretences to religion, that it looked like ill-nature to believe that such sanctified persons could entertain any but holy purposes. In a word, religion was made a cloak to cover the most impious designs; and reputation of honesty, a stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no mind to be wicked. The court was[f] as full of murmuring, ingratitude, and treachery, and[g] as willing and ready to rebel against the best and most bountiful master in the world, as the country and the city. A barbarous and bloody fierceness and savageness had extinguished all relations, hardened the hearts and bowels of all men; and an universal malice and animosity had even covered the most innocent and best-natured people and nation upon the earth.

These unavoidable reflections first made him discern how weak and foolish all his former imaginations had been, and how blind a surveyor he had been of the inclinations and affections of the heart of man; and it made him likewise conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the dependance must be upon any thing in this world, where whatsoever is good and desirable suddenly perisheth, and nothing is lasting but the folly and wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. In this first vacation, he had leisure to read many learned and pious books; and here he began to compose his Meditations upon the

[f] was] *Not in MS.* [g] and] *Not in MS.*

Psalms, by applying those devotions to the present afflictions and calamities of his king and country. He began now by the especial encouragement of the king, who was then a prisoner in the army, to write The History of the late Rebellion and Civil Wars, and finished the four first books thereof; and made an entry upon some exercises of devotion, which he lived to enlarge afterwards. 1668.

When he had enjoyed, in that pleasant island of Jersey, full two years, in as great serenity of mind as the separation from country, wife, and children, can be imagined to admit, he received a command from the queen, then at St. Germain's, and an express order from the king, upon which the other had been sent, his majesty being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that he should forthwith attend the person of the prince of Wales, who, upon the revolt of the ships under the command of the parliament in the Downs, and their profession of obedience to the king, was advised to make all possible haste to them; and the chancellor was required to wait upon his highness at Roan upon a day assigned, which was past before the orders came to him.

And then [h] without any delay he used all possible diligence to find the prince; who with greater expedition, without coming to Roan, passed to Calais, and from thence to Holland to possess the ships which he found there, and possessed with all that alacrity (which is always very loud) that seamen can express; and by the assistance of the prince of Orange got more victual quickly on board, that he might be in the Downs with the fleet to second

[h] then] though

1668. some attempt which was already on foot in Kent, and others expected in several parts of the kingdom. And the chancellor having in his way called upon the lord Cottington at Roan, and together with him, and some other persons of honour and quality, made what haste they could to Dieppe, that they might there embark for any place where they should hear the prince to be; there[i] they were informed, that his highness was at the Brill in Holland. And thereupon they put themselves on board a French man of war, and upon the sea were taken prisoners by Ostenders, who, upon the advantage of being in the ship of an enemy, concluded them to be lawful prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the circumstances of barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of money and jewels of great value, and stripped most of their servants to their shirts, they carried them in great triumph to Ostend; where though their persons were used with civility and respect, and presently set at liberty, yet they were compelled to stay there many days, in hope to obtain the jewels and money of which they had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done, (those privateers being subject to no discipline, nor regarding the orders of the admiralty, or any other governor,) to make such provision as was necessary for a further voyage. And at last they got from Ostend to Flushing, having found means to inform the prince of their misadventures, and of their readiness at Flushing to receive and obey his commands.

The fleet was then in the Downs in so good a posture, by the access of other ships and vessels to

[i] there] and there

it, and by some notable commotions on land, that the prospect was fair and hopeful. And the prince received the advertisement no sooner, than he was pleased to send a frigate to Flushing for those who had been so long expected. But the winds proved then so cross and tempestuous in the gentlest season of the year, that after several attempts at sea, they were so often driven back again into the harbour, sometimes by very dangerous storms, that in the end they received new directions to attend the prince at the Hague, the fleet being at the same time under sail for that coast. 1668.

The earl of Lautherdale was at that time come to the fleet as commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland, to inform the prince, that duke Hamilton with a powerful army was already marched into England; and thereupon to invite his highness to make what haste he could, to put himself in the head of that army, according to a promise the king had made in some private treaty with the Scots; and which the queen had sent very positive commands to be observed and obeyed. This was the reason, not without other more reasonable motives, so suddenly to quit the Downs, that he might get more victual for the fleet, and therewith sail to the north, and disembark in such a place as should be nearest to the Scots army, with which he doubted not to find a very considerable conjunction of the English; since he knew that sir Marmaduke Langdale had possessed himself with a body of English officers and gentlemen, of Berwick, and sir Philip Musgrave had done the same with the like assistance, at Carlisle, before the Scots began their march.

1668. The lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague the next day after the prince's arrival, and were very graciously received by his highness, and with a wonderful kindness by all the court, and all the gentlemen who had attended upon him; not so much out of affection to them, as out of detestation of one another, who had kept company for the space of two months last past.

The prince had found the common seamen full of such a keen devotion for his service upon the true principles of the cause, and for the redemption of the king his father out of prison, and so full of indignation against those who had formerly misled them into rebellion, especially the presbyterians; that as they had before the declaration set all those officers on shore by force, who were appointed by the parliament to command them, so now they thought the new ones, which they had chosen for themselves, not fierce and resolute enough for their purposes. The truth is; there had been much unskilful tampering amongst them by emissaries from Paris, and other attempts. And the duke of York, having made his escape very little time before, and being then at the Hague when the fleet came to Helvoetsluys, upon the first notice lost no time in making haste to them. It was generally known, that the king his father had long designed to make him high admiral of England; and [k] the commission which had been formerly granted to the earl of Northumberland they [l] all knew to be repealed and cancelled: so that he no sooner came to the fleet, but he was received with the usual acclamations of

[k] and] and that

[l] they] and which they

joy as their admiral, and he as cheerfully assumed the command. And his small family presently began to propagate their several factions and animosities, with which they abounded, to make such parties amongst the seamen as might advance their several pretences. And in this posture the prince found the fleet when he came to it, and resolved to take the command immediately into his own hand, and that the duke should remain at the Hague with his sister, till that expedition were over; and so he made haste with the fleet into the Downs, hoping that some present occasion would be the best expedient to extinguish that fire, and compose those distempers, which he discerned already to be kindled amongst the seamen. 1668.

The advice and instruction which were brought from Paris were grounded upon the treaty with Scotland, the marching of that army, and the expectation of some notable attempt by the presbyterian party in London; in order to which, all address was to be made to that city, and a declaration to be published to gratify that party. This secret was intrusted only to one of the council, and one other who was to be ministerial in whatsoever the other directed. And this temper was quickly discovered when they came into the Downs, by the great care [m] that was taken to give no offence or interruption to the trade of the city, which all men believed would be the best means to reduce it. Ships of return, richly laden, were suffered quietly to pass thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewise quietly permitted to prosecute their voyage:

[m] care] *Omitted in MS.*

1668. all which was passionately opposed by prince Rupert and all the rest of the council. And this contradiction was quickly known to the lords of the bedchamber, and others, who had no reverence for that council, and were now the more inflamed upon this division of opinion. And the seamen likewise coming to take notice of it, cried out, "the prince was "betrayed;" and grew into such rage and fury, that they declared, "that they would throw those over-"board who gave the prince such evil counsel." Two or three unprosperous attempts at land, and then the lord Lautherdale's coming thither, and the order thereupon for the fleet to sail presently for Holland for the reasons aforesaid, kindled all those sparkles into a bright flame of dissension, so universal, that there were very few who spake with any civility of one another, or without the highest animosity that can be imagined.

This was the distracted condition of affairs when the lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague; the council divided between themselves, and more offended with the court for presumption in making themselves of the council, and opposing whatsoever the other directed, by their private whispering to the prince in reproach of them, and their public murmurings against their persons for the counsel they gave, every man endeavouring to incense others against those who were not affected by him; and this ill humour increased by such an universal poverty, that very few knew where to find a subsistence for three months to come, or how to dispose of themselves. The clamour from the fleet was so high for new victual and for money, that there was apprehension just enough, that they would pro-

vide for themselves by returning to their old station; 1668.
to which they had both opportunity and invitation, by the parliament's having set out another fleet superior in power to them, that were already at anchor in their view, under the command of the earl of Warwick, to block them up in that inconvenient harbour. The sudden news of the total defeat of the Scots army, and shortly after of the loss of Colchester, and taking the persons of so many gallant gentlemen, and murdering some of them in cold blood; the daily warm contests in council upon the insolent behaviour and the unreasonable demands of the lord Lautherdale, who as peremptorily insisted upon the prince's going immediately with the fleet into Scotland, as he had done before the total defeat of duke Hamilton, and without expecting to hear what alteration that fatal change had produced in that kingdom, which was very reasonable to apprehend, and in truth had at that time really fallen out: these and many other ill presages made the chancellor quickly find, that in his two years' repose in Jersey he had not fortified himself enough against future assaults, nor laid in ballast to be prepared to ride out the storms and tempests that he was like to be engaged in.

The preservation of the fleet was a consideration that would bear no delay; and was in a short time, though with infinite difficulties and contests full of animosity, resolved to be by committing the charge of it to prince Rupert, who was to carry it into Ireland, where were many good ports in his majesty's obedience. But that was no sooner done, but the horrid murder of the king, and the formed dissolution of the monarchy there, and erecting and

1668. establishing the government in that kingdom with a seeming general consent, at least without any visible appearance or possibility of contradiction or opposition; the faint proclamation of the present king in Scotland, under the same conditions which they would have imposed, and with all the circumstances with which they had prosecuted the rebellion against his father; the resolution what was fit for the young king to undertake in his own person, and the dismal prospect, how all the neighbour princes were solicitous not to pay him any such civilities, as might encourage him to expect any thing from them; were all arguments of perplexity and consternation to all men, who had been moderately versed in the transaction of affairs; and were too many things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the chancellor used to say, "that all the business he had been "conversant in, from the beginning to his coming "to the Hague, had not administered half the diffi-"culties and disconsolation, had not half so much "disturbed and distracted his understanding, and "broken his mind, as the next six months from that "time had done." Nor could he see any light before him to present a way to the king, by entering into which he might hopefully avoid the greatest misery that ever prince had been exposed to. His own particular condition (under so general a mortification) afflicted him very little, having long composed himself by a resolution, with God's blessing, to do his duty without hesitation, and to leave all the rest to the disposition of Providence.

When the fleet was committed to the government of prince Rupert to embark for Ireland, it was

enough foreseen by those who foresaw what naturally might fall out, that Ireland was probably like to be the place whither it might be the most counsellable for the prince himself to repair. But as it was not then seasonable in many respects to publish such an imagination; so it was not possible to keep the fleet where it then was, or in any port of the dominions of Holland, where the States were already perplexed what answer they should return if the new commonwealth should demand the ships, or whether they were not obliged to deliver them: and therefore no time was to be lost. Nor was the voyage itself like to be secure, but by the benefit of the winter season, and the unquiet seas they were to pass through; which would have made it too dangerous a voyage for the person of the prince, who must find a shorter passage thither, when it should be necessary. 1668.

When that inhuman impiety was acted at London, and the young king had in some degree recovered his spirits from the sudden astonishment, and had received the vile proclamation and propositions from Scotland, his majesty with those few who were of nearest trust concluded, "that it would be "shortly of necessity to transport himself into Ire-"land;" which was to be the highest secret, that it might be equally unsuspected in England and in Scotland. "That he should incognito, or with a light "train, pass through France to Nantz, or some "other port of Bretagne, where two or three ships "of war, which he could not doubt of obtaining by "the favour of his brother the prince of Orange, "might attend him; and from thence he might

1668. "with least hazard embark for the nearest coast of "Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond might "meet him."

This being concluded in that manner, the lord Cottington went in a morning to the king before he was dressed; and desired, "that when he was "ready, he would give him a private audience in "his closet." He there told him, "that his majesty "had taken the most prudent resolution that his "condition would admit, for Ireland; where there "remained yet some foundation for hope. That for "himself he was so old and infirm," (for to his seventy-five years, which was then his age, he had frequent and painful visitations of the gout and the stone,) "that his majesty could not expect his per-"sonal attendance in so many journeys by land as "he must be exposed to: yet having served the crown "throughout the reign of his grandfather and his "father, he was very desirous to finish his life in his "majesty's service.

"That he had reflected upon the woful condition "his affairs were in, not more by the power of his "rebels, than by being abandoned by all his neigh-"bour princes. That it was too apparent, that nei-"ther of them would embark themselves in his "quarrel; so that the utmost he could hope from "them was, that in some secret manner they might "contribute such a supply and relief to him, as "might give him a subsistence, till some new acci-"dents and alterations at home or abroad might "produce a more seasonable conjuncture. That "even in that particular, he doubted the magna-"nimity or generosity of princes would not be very

" conspicuous: however it being all his present de- 1668.
" pendance, he must try all the ways he could to
" provoke them to that disposition.

" That he knew the crown of Spain was so low
" at that time, that whatever their inclinations
" might be, they could neither supply him with
" ships or men or money towards the raising or
" supporting of an army: yet that he knew too,
" that there is such a proportion of honour, and of a
" generous compassion and bounty, that is insepa-
" rable from that crown, and even runs through
" that people, which other nations are not inspired
" with. And he was confident, that if his majesty
" sent an ambassador thither, how necessitous so-
" ever that court might be, it would never refuse
" to make such an assignment of money to him as
" might, well husbanded, provide a decent support
" for him in Ireland; where likewise the king of
" Spain had power to do his majesty more offices
" than any other prince could do, or he any where
" else, by the universal influence he had upon the
" Irish nation. And general Owen O'Neile, who
" was the only man that then obstructed the union
" of that people in a submission to the king, had
" been bred up in the court of Spain, and had spent
" all his time in the service of that crown, and had
" still his sole dependance upon it; and therefore it
" was to be presumed, that he might be induced by
" direction from Madrid, to conform himself to a
" conjunction with the marquis of Ormond, the
" king's lieutenant there." He said, " that his ma-
" jesty knew well that he had spent a great part of
" his life in that court, in the service of his grand-
" father and father; and he would be willing to

1668. " end his days there, if it were thought of use to
——— " his affairs."

The discourse was too reasonable not to make impression upon the king; which discovering in his countenance, the other desired him, " that he would " think that day upon all that he had said, without " communicating it to any body, till the next morn- " ing, when he would again wait on him, to know " his opinion upon the whole; for if his majesty " should approve of what he proposed, he had an- " other particular to offer, before the matter should " be publicly debated." When he came the next morning, and found the king was[n] much pleased with what he had before discoursed, and asked what the other particular was that he intended to offer; the lord Cottington told him, " that he was " very glad his majesty was so well pleased with " what he had proposed, which he confessed the " more he had revolved himself, the more hopeful " the success appeared to him; which made him " the more solicitous, that through any inadver- " tency such a design might not miscarry."

He put him then in mind again " of his great " age, how unlike it was that he should be able to " hold out such a journey, or, if he did, the fatigue " thereof would probably cast him into a fit of the " gout or the stone, or both, which if he should out- " live, he should be long detained from the prosecu- " tion of his business, which the less vigorously pur- " sued would be more ineffectual;" and therefore proposed, " that he might have a companion with " him, of more youth and a stronger constitution,

[n] was] *Not in MS.*

" who would receive some benefit by the informa- 1668.
" tion and advice he should be able to give him, the
" advantage whereof would redound for the present,
" and might more in the future, to the king's ser-
" vice;" and in fine proposed, " that the chancellor
" of the exchequer might be joined in the commis-
" sion with him, and accompany him into Spain,
" from whence if they made haste in their journey,
" they might make such a progress in that court,
" that he might be able to attend his majesty in
" Ireland in a very short time after his arrival
" there; whilst himself remained still at Madrid, to
" prosecute all further opportunities to advance his
" service."

The king was surprised with the overture; and asked " whether the chancellor would be willing to " undertake the employment, and whether he had " spoken with him of it." To which the other presently replied, " that he knew not, nor had ever " spoke to him of it, nor would do, till his majesty, " if he liked it, should first prepare him; for he " knew well he would at first be startled at it, and it " may be might take it unkindly. That he knew well " how much of the weight of his business lay upon " the chancellor's shoulders, and in that respect that " many others would not be willing he should be ab- " sent: yet that there was a long vacation in view, " and there could be little to be done till the " king should come into Ireland; and by that time " he might be with him again, with such a return " from Spain as might be welcome and convenient " to him. And therefore if his majesty would first " break the matter to him, he would then take the " work upon him; and he believed he should give

1668. "him such reasons, since he could not suspect his "friendship," (which was very notorious, and they lived then together,) "as would dispose him to the "journey."

When the king spake to him of it, as a thing that had resulted from his own thoughts; "that he had "more hope to obtain some supply from Spain, than "from any other place; that no man could be so fit "to solicit it as the lord Cottington, and nobody so "fit to accompany him as he, who might be with "him in Ireland in a short time;" he said, "he had "spoken with lord Cottington to undertake the em-"ployment, to which he was not averse; but he had "expressly refused to undertake it alone, and he "knew that no companion would be so acceptable "to him as he would be."

The chancellor did not at first dissemble the apprehension, that this device had been contrived at Paris, where he knew that neither of them were acceptable, nor were wished to be about the king, or to have so much credit with him as they were both thought to have: but the king quickly expelled that jealousy. And he desired a short time to consider of it; and received such reasons (besides kindness in the invitation) from the lord Cottington, that he did not submit only to the king's pleasure, but very willingly undertook the employment: and, though it was afterwards delayed by the importunity of many, and the queen's own advice, who thought the chancellor's attendance about the person of the king her son to be more useful to his service, than it was like to be in the other climate, the king was firm to his purpose; and despatched them shortly after his coming into France, when he resolved and prepared

for his own expedition into Ireland, in order to which there were then some Dutch ships of war that waited for him at St. Malo's. 1668.

This was the occasion and ground of his second retreat and recess from a very uneasy condition, of which he was not more weary in respect of the difficulty and melancholy of the business, from which he could not entirely disentangle himself by absence, than in respect of the company he was to keep in the conducting it, who had humours and inclinations uneasy to him, irresolute in themselves, and contrary for the most part to his judgment. And he did still acknowledge, that he did receive much refreshment and benefit by that negotiation. For though the employment proved ineffectual to the purposes for which it was intended, by the king's finding it necessary to divert his intended journey for Ireland, into that of Scotland; yet he had vacancy to recollect and compose his broken thoughts; and mended his understanding, in the observation and experience of another kind of negotiation than he had formerly been acquainted with, under the assistance, advice, and friendship of the most able person, and the best acquainted with foreign negotiations and the general interests of the several kings and states in Christendom, of any statesman then alive in Europe, and who delighted in giving him all the information he could. He was conversant in a court of another nature and humour, of another kind of grandeur and gravity, of another constitution and policy; and where ambassadors are more esteemed and regarded, and live with more conversation and a better intelligence amongst themselves, than in any other court in the world. His second retreat in Spain.

1668. The less of business he had, he was the more vacant to study the language and the manners and the government of that nation. He made a collection of and read many of the best books which are extant in that language, especially in the histories of their civil and ecclesiastical state. Upon the reading the Pontifical History written by Illescas in two volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other volumes, he begun there first his Animadversions upon the Superiority and Supremacy of the Pope, which he afterwards continued to a perfect work. Here he resumed the continuation of his Devotions on the Psalms, and other discourses of piety and devotion, which he reviewed and enlarged in his later times of leisure. Though he underwent in this employment many mortifications of several kinds, yet he still acknowledged that he learned much during the time of his being in Spain, from whence he returned a little before the battle of Worcester; and after the king's miraculous escape into France, he quickly waited upon his majesty, and was never separated from his person, till sixteen or seventeen years after by his banishment.

His third retreat after his banishment.

This he called his third and most blessed recess, in which God vouchsafed to exercise many of his mercies towards him. And though he entered into it with many very disconsolate circumstances; yet in a short time, upon the recovery of a better state of health, and being remitted into a posture of ease and quietness, and secure from the power of his enemies, he recovered likewise a marvellous tranquillity and serenity of mind, by making a strict review and recollection into all the actions, all the faults and follies, committed by himself and others in his

last continued fatigue of seventeen or eighteen years; in which he had received very many signal instances of God's favour, and in which he had so behaved himself, that he had the good opinion and friendship of those of the best fame, reputation, and interest, and was generally believed to have deserved very well of the king and kingdom. 1668.

In all this retirement he was very seldom vacant, and then only when he was under some sharp visitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing some animadversions and exercitations of his own, as appears by the papers and notes which he left. He learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choicest books. Now he finished the work which his heart was most set upon, the History of the late Civil Wars and Transactions to the Time of the King's Return in the Year 1660; of which he gave the king advertisement. He finished his Reflections and Devotions upon the Psalms of David, which he dedicated to his children; which was ended at Montpelier before the death of the duchess. He wrote and finished his Answer to Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, to which he prefixed an epistle dedicatory to the king, if his majesty would permit it. He wrote a good volume of Essays, Divine, Moral, and Political, to which he was always adding. He prepared a Discourse Historical of the Pretence and Practice of the successive Popes from the Beginning of that Jurisdiction they assume; in which he thought he had fully vindicated the power and authority of kings from that odious usurpation. He entered upon the forming a method for the better disposing the History of England, that it may be

1668. more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been. He left so many papers of several kinds, and cut out so many pieces of work, that a man may conclude, that he never intended to be idle.

In a word, he did not only by all possible administrations subdue his affections and passions, to make his mind conformable to his present fortune; but did all he could to lay in a stock of patience and provision, that might support him in any future exigent or calamity that might befall him: yet with a cheerful expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful combination which then oppressed him.

THE END.

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Hyde, Anne, aunt to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married to Thomas Baynard, *ib.*
Hyde, Anne, daughter of the chancellor, appointed maid of honour to the princess royal, i. 303. is married to the duke of York, 372. her character traduced by sir Charles Berkley, 387. upon which the duke resolves to deny the marriage, *ib.* is delivered of a son, 389. accepts sir Charles Berkley's submission, 397. the queen mother is reconciled to her, 402. endeavours used to lessen the king's esteem of her, iii. 65.
Hyde, Edward, (afterwards earl of Clarendon,) born at Dinton, co. Wilts, i. 1. third son of Henry Hyde, 6. born 18th of Feb. 1608. *ib.* educated by a schoolmaster, to whom his father had given the vicarage of the parish, *ib.* sent to the university of Oxford at the age of thirteen, *ib.* designed to the clergy, *ib.* was to make his own fortune by his industry, 7. candidate for a demi-ship of Magdalen college, *ib.* recommended by king James to Dr. Langton, the president, *ib.* but was not chosen, *ib.* remains at Magdalen hall, *ib.* under the tuition

of Mr. John Oliver, *ib.* chosen demy the following year, though there was no vacancy, *ib.* upon the death of his elder brother Henry, is sent by his father to the inns of court, *ib.* enters at the Middle Temple, *ib.* in consequence of the plague did not go there till Michaelmas term, 1625. 8. takes his degree of bachelor of arts, *ib.* character at that time, *ib.* arrives in London, *ib.* seized with a quartan ague, 9. goes to Pirton, *ib.* recovers, and returns to the Middle Temple, *ib.* gets acquainted with some officers, *ib.* retreats from their company without hurt or prejudice, 10. cannot bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, *ib.* loved polite learning and Roman history, *ib.* goes the Norfolk circuit in 1626. *ib.* arrives at Cambridge, and lodges in Trinity college, 11. seized with the small-pox, *ib.* put under the care of Mr. Crane, *ib.* in great danger, *ib.* recovers and goes to his father's house at Pirton, *ib.* receives the account of the death of the duke of Buckingham, 12. returns to his studies at the Middle Temple, *ib.* loses his uncle and patron sir Nicholas Hyde, *ib.* marries the daughter of sir George Ayliffe, 13. loses his wife within less than six months from the small-pox, at Reading, *ib.* employed in a cause in the court, 14. the occasion of his introduction to the marquis of Hamilton, 15. marries the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury, bart. 17. betakes himself seriously to his profession, 18. laments his father's death, 21. his name mentioned by Mr. D. Harvey to abp. Laud, 28. is sent for by the archbishop, 29. the conversation between them respecting the complaints against the earl of Portland as treasurer, *ib.* is taken particular notice of by the archbishop, 30. in consequence receives encouragement in his profession, 31. method of spending his time, *ib.* some account of his chief acquaintance, 34. of these he looked upon Mr. Selden with most affection and reverence, 41. afterwards he forms a more intimate friendship with others, whose characters are given, 41. fortunate in his acquaintance and friendships in his profession, 66. the countenance he received from certain great men made him looked upon by the judges in Westminster-hall with great condescension, 68. reconciles abp. Laud to the earl of Hertford, 69. his free expostulation with the archbishop, 70. his reverence for, and opinion of him, 73. gives up his whole heart to his profession, 74. his family, three sons and a daughter, 75. reflections on the younger part of his life, *ib.* his own character, 76. chosen to serve for two places in the parliament of 1640, viz. Wotton-Basset and Shaftesbury, 80. chooses to serve for the former, *ib.* his first speech in the house against the earl marshal's court, &c. 81. endeavours to prevail on abp. Laud to oppose the dissolution of the parliament, 83. is chosen to serve in the second parliament of 1640. 84. the parliament prejudiced against him, *ib.* renews his motion for the suppression of the earl

marshal's court, 85. succeeds in abolishing it, *ib.* receives the thanks of the earl marshal for his treatment of his person on that occasion, 86. lays aside his gown, and wholly gives himself up to public business, 87. in the chair of the committee against the court of York, *ib.* and of that against the judges, *ib.* and against the marshal's court, *ib.* and of that concerning the lord president and council of the marches of Wales, *ib.* and of many other committees, 88. particularly of an enclosure, in which arose the first cause of Oliver Cromwell's enmity to him, *ib.* in the chair in the grand committee of the house for the extirpation of episcopacy, 90. the discontented party make great court to him, *ib.* his conversation with Nathaniel Fiennes respecting his attachment to the church, 90. and with Harry Martin about the proceedings of the houses, 91. is sent for by the king, 92. their discourse, 93. undertakes for the care of the church and episcopacy till the king goes for Scotland, *ib.* receives the king's thanks by secretary Nicholas, 94. draws up an answer to the parliament's remonstrance, 97. reads it to Lord Digby, *ib.* refuses to have it communicated to the king, 98. the king hears of it, and sends for it, *ib.* it is read before the privy-council, 99. and is printed, *ib.* sent for by the king, who offers him the place of solicitor general, which he declines, 100. refuses another post, 101. is intrusted, jointly with lord Falkland and sir J. Colepepper, with the conduct of the king's affairs in parliament, 102. account of his disposition and principles, 108. sent by the parliament to the king with a message respecting the removal of the prince of Wales from Richmond, 119. prevails with the king to alter his answer to the parliament, 121. the king's discourse with him in the privy gallery at Greenwich, 122. is directed by the king to prepare answers for him to the parliament's declaration and messages, 123. is surprised in the midst of his discourse by the earls of Essex and Holland, 124. sends the king an account of a message from parliament respecting their privileges, 126. his advice thereupon, 127. a design formed to send him to the Tower, 133. it is defeated, 134. required by his majesty to attend him at York, 135. disposes the lord keeper to send the great seal to the king, and himself attend the king, *ib.* begins his journey to York, 136. stops at Ditchley, 137. stops at Nostall, 138. sends the king an answer to the declaration of the 19th of May, 139. receives from the king the declaration of the 26th of May, and is desired to answer it speedily, *ib.* writes to the king from Nostall in favour of the lord keeper, 144. goes to York, 145. his reception there, 146. he reconciles the king to the lord keeper, 148. is required by the committee from parliament to attend the house, 149. his answer, *ib.* advises the king not to publish the answer to the parliament's nineteen propositions, 155. lord Falkland's

expostulation with him thereon, *ib.* his conversation with the earl of Holland, 156. is exempted from pardon by a vote of the houses, 157. his conversation with sir Edmund Varney, 159. laments the loss of many of his writings, 162. declines the office of secretary of state, 168. accepts the office of chancellor of the exchequer, 170. is sworn of the privy-council, and knighted, 171. advises the king to comply with Mr. Pierrepoint's proposal of making the earl of Northumberland lord high admiral of England, 181. delivers his opinion on the Scottish commissioners' request for the abolition of episcopacy, 191. attends the king to Bristol, 195. his office invaded by Mr. Ashburnham, 196. loses his dear friend lord Falkland, 201. refuses the office of secretary of state a second time, 204. is made one of the junto, 205. dissuades the king from dissolving the parliament, 207. is commanded to attend the prince into the west, 214. his conversation with lord Digby concerning the prince's going to France, 215. he endeavours to reconcile the king and the duke of Richmond, 225—227. without success, 228. his last conference with the king, 229. his promise to the king at parting, 230. sets out from Oxford, *ib.* arrives at Bath, where he has the first fit of the gout, 231. arrives at Bristol, *ib.* goes to Scilly, 234. and from thence to Jersey, 235. receives the prince's permission to remain there, 238. remains there about two years, in great intimacy with sir George Carteret, 239, 240. betakes himself to a continuance of the history begun at Scilly, *ib.* builds a lodging in Elizabeth castle, 242. receives great assistance from the king, in information and documents, towards his History, 243. publishes an answer to the parliament's declaration, that they would receive no more addresses from the king, 244. leaves Jersey, and goes to Caen, thence to Rouen and to Dieppe, 246. whence he embarks for Dunkirk, 247. and afterwards proceeds to join the prince's fleet, 249. but is taken by some frigates of Ostend, 250. plundered and carried into that port, *ib.* is set at liberty, and promised satisfaction, 251. but cannot obtain it, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances, 254. goes to Flushing, 255. from thence to Middleburgh, 256. embarks aboard the Hind frigate to attend the prince in the river Thames, *ib.* is driven back, *ib.* arrives at the Hague, 257. is appointed ambassador to the court of Spain, 259. which is much murmured at, *ib.* but is himself much pleased with the commission, 260. sends for his wife and children to Antwerp, 260. attends the masquerade at Madrid, 265. and the toros, 266. is visited by the other ambassadors at Madrid before his audience, 270. demands his audience, 273. prepares mourning for himself and train to appear in at the audience, *ib.* changes his purpose at the request of Don Lewis de Haro, 274. applies himself to learning Spa-

nish, 276. leaves Madrid, 277. attacked with the gout at Pampeluna, 278. notwithstanding continues his journey, and arrives at Paris, *ib.* his reception by the queen mother, *ib.* speaks with her upon her forbidding Dr. Cosins to officiate to the protestants in her family, 279. her majesty's answer, 280. confers on the subject with sir Walter Mountague, 281. goes to Brussels, 282. has an audience with the archduke, 283. joins his family at Antwerp, *ib.* goes to the duke of York at Breda, *ib.* persuades him to return to the queen mother, 281. remains with his family at Antwerp, 292. his friendship with sir Charles Cavendish, *ib.* whom he persuades to go to England, 294. gives an account of his proceedings to the king, 297. his answer to the queen, who endeavoured to attach him to her interest, 298. state of his family at Antwerp, 300. he removes with them to Breda, 301. declines the offer made to his daughter by the princess royal, of the situation of a maid of honour, 302, 303. which his wife accepts, and he at length gives his consent, 307. answers Cromwell's declaration, 308. is one of the king's council at the restoration, 316. highest in office, and thought to be so also in trust, the reasons why, *ib.* his intimacy with the marquis of Ormond, 317. some intimations made to the king at the Hague of his being very much in the prejudice of the presbyterian party, with advice to leave him there till he himself should be settled in England, which the king receives with indignation, *ib.* his request to the king to decline giving him any protection, 318. his resolution of withdrawing himself, *ib.* receives from the king the list of privy counsellors recommended by Monk, 324. by the king's desire has a conference with Morrice concerning this list, 325. takes his seat in the house of peers with a general acceptation and respect, 328. is thought to have most credit with the king, 363. all matters referred by the king to him, *ib.* resigns the office of chancellor of the exchequer, 370. he foresees a storm of envy and malice against him, 371. is informed by the king of his daughter's marriage with the duke of York, 377. is struck to the heart with the news, 378. and breaks out into violent passions, *ib.* acts severely towards his daughter, and orders her to keep her chamber, 381. his language upon this affair in the presence of the king, 379. the king presents him with twenty thousand pounds, 385. and creates him a baron, 387. is well received by the queen mother on her return, 388. his conference with the duke of York, and answer to his highness's threats, 390. absolutely refuses to make any application towards appeasing the queen's anger, 394. the queen suddenly alters her behaviour towards him, 395. the reason given him by abbot Mountague, 396. receives sir Charles Berkley's professions civilly, 397. his reply to the king's reproof, 398. desires leave to retire beyond the seas, 400. is introduced by the earl of

St. Alban's to the queen mother, 401. who is reconciled to him, 403. not elated by the marriage of his daughter, 404. some instances of his disinterestedness, 406. refuses an offer of crown lands, 407. declines being made a knight of the garter, 410. declines being also made an earl, 413. but finds he cannot prudently refuse it longer, 414. urged by the marquis of Ormond to resign his office of chancellor, 415. and betake himself wholly to wait upon the king, 416. which he refuses, 418. anxious in council and in parliament to remove all obstructions in the way of the bill of indemnity, 471. is consulted by the king concerning a treaty of marriage with the infanta of Portugal, 489. whom he desires to refer it to a committee, 493. appointed of the committee, 494. some overtures made to him by monsieur Fouquet, the French minister, concerning the treaty with Portugal, 517. with which he acquaints the king, 519. his integrity in refusing money (ten thousand pounds) offered him by the French minister, 521. which he complains of to the king, but is desired by him to continue his correspondence, 523, 524. expresses himself warmly upon the duke of Ormond's being made lord lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 55. his vindication of himself with regard to Irish affairs, 92. his speech to parliament previous to its being prorogued, 158. is hated by the queen, 172. the king imparts to him all his unquietness of mind respecting the queen, 173. endeavours to reconcile their majesties, 174—190. but is unsuccessful, 191. his interest declines on the appointments of sir Harry Bennett and sir Charles Berkley, 229. however he still retains the king's favour, 230. opposes the war with the Dutch, 238. the duke offended with him for it, 240. he satisfies the duke, 241. a full statement, in vindication of himself, of the proceedings relative to the sale of Dunkirk, 242—251. his advice to the king regarding his natural son Mr. Crofts, 254. is accused of high treason by the earl of Bristol, 259. who absconds, 262. receives proposals from the bishop of Munster for an alliance against the Dutch, 318. which he communicates to the king, 319. beseeches the king to reconsider his appointment of lord Ashley to be treasurer of the prize-money, 338. is obliged by the king to seal the grant, 340. measures taken to prejudice the king against him, 341. opposes the bill for liberty of conscience, 344. speaks against it in the house of lords, 347. and drops some unguarded expressions, 348. the king offended with him upon it, 349. refuses to put the seal to the Canary merchants' charter till they had satisfied the city of London, 373. a vindication of the chancellor in this affair, 380. his reflection upon the attempt made on the Dutch at Bergen, 424. substance of his speech to the parliament which met at Oxford, 430. prospect of his affairs about this time, 438. an attempt to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, 443. the occasion of

it, 444. is consulted by the duke of York respecting two suits he intended to make to the king, 454. is against removing the earl of Sandwich from the command of the fleet, 476. his conference with the earl, 480. the malice of lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against him, iii. 2. is desired by the king to persuade the treasurer to resign, 29. he earnestly entreats the king against it, 30. and at length prevails, 32. his interest declines, while the courtiers affect to represent it at the highest, 106. repeats to the king the conversation which had passed between him and lord Arlington on the king's course of life, 108. he seriously remonstrates with the king, 112. delivers his opinion very freely to the king in the private committee against the bill for examining the public accounts, 132. which is soon reported to his prejudice, *ib.* in the debate of the Irish cattle bill he defends the commons by desiring the peers to restrain their encroachments, 163. he offends the lords by advising them not to insist unreasonably upon privilege, 168. advises the king against putting the treasury into commission, 241. is against the king convening the parliament during the prorogation, 255—259. the storm beginning to arise against him, 265. the house of commons incensed against him by the agency of Mr. William Coventry, *ib.* his fate hastened by the singular behaviour of the duke of Buckingham, 267. the chancellor's advice to the duke, who had requested him to interpose in his behalf with the king, 276. declines to give the king any advice as to staying the prosecution, till the duke had surrendered himself, 278. loses his wife, 282. the duke of York sent to him to desire him to resign, *ib.* many persons of eminence interpose in his behalf, 285. he attends the king at Whitehall, 286. the conference between them, 286—290. the king leaves him in displeasure, 291. the duke of York interests himself in his behalf, 292. the great seal taken from him, 294. the duke of Buckingham is much inflamed against him, 297. and is persuaded to concur in the prosecution of him, *ib.* the king also expresses great displeasure against him, 298. and reflects upon him in his speech to the parliament, 300. one Tomkins moves the house to thank the king for removing him, 301. unfair methods used to induce the house to adopt that motion, *ib.* persons sought after to furnish matter of impeachment against him, 304. is accused of high treason by Mr. Seymour, 306. many advise him to make his escape, 307. which he refuses to do, *ib.* the king declares his belief in his innocence, 308. which he afterwards disowns, 309. articles of the charge against him, 311. proceedings against him in the house of commons, 315. Mr. Seymour accuses him of high treason at the bar of the house of lords, 318. debates in that house concerning his commitment, *ib.* he is again advised to withdraw, 321. but refuses, 322. the king offended with him for

the part he is reported to have taken with respect to the duke of Richmond's marriage, 323. his letter to the king upon that subject, 324. the king expresses a wish that he would withdraw, 326. the bishop of Hereford sent to him to advise him to leave the kingdom, 327. which he refuses to do without receiving a command from his majesty, 329. is urged by the French ambassador to retire to France, 331. but cannot be prevailed upon, 332. receives a notice from the king to withdraw, *ib.* he unwillingly obeys, and leaves the kingdom, *ib.* he lands at Calais, 333. an instance of his generous behaviour to his enemies, 334. his address to the house of lords on his withdrawing, 337. which is burned by order of both houses, 348. writes to the French court for leave to remove to Roan, 349. which is granted to him, 350. on his journey he receives orders to leave France instantly, 351. appeals to that court in consequence of the ill state of his health, 352. the occasion of the ill treatment he meets with in France, 353. proceedings against him in England, *ib.* a bill of banishment passed against him, 354. receives reiterated orders to quit France instantly, 355. again represents the ill state of his health to the French court, 356. the French king renews his commands for his speedy departure, *ib.* receives an express, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament against him, 357. is advised by the duke of York to hasten his return, and undergo his trial, 358. for that purpose he returns to Calais, *ib.* where he is confined to his bed by a dangerous illness, 359. is notwithstanding required to leave the place, and retire out of the French territories, *ib.* the French court suddenly alters its behaviour towards him, 362. and permits him to go to what place he would, 363. which is a great relief and comfort to him, 364. he returns to Roan, 365. from thence proceeds towards Avignon, 366. is greatly abused, and almost murdered by some English at Eureux, 367. removes from thence to Bourbon, 372. and from thence to Avignon, *ib.* where he is received with the greatest kindness, 373. visits Montpelier, *ib.* where he receives great civilities and respect, especially from lady Mordaunt, 374. he writes a vindication of himself, 377. his answer to the several articles of the charge against him, 380—451. enjoys great tranquillity of mind, 451. two apprehensions discompose him, 452. first, the insufficiency of his fortune, *ib.* this was composed in the assurance he had of the affection and piety of his children, *ib.* the second, the fear of being again persecuted in his banishment, 453. this removed by an entire acquiescence in the good pleasure of God, 454. reflections on the wonderful and unusual proceedings and prosecution against him, *ib.* which raise his confidence in God, 456. his reflections on his conduct from the time of the king's restoration, *ib.* blames himself for the vast expense he had

made in the building of, his house, *ib.* esteems himself most happy in what he calls his three acquiescences, or retreat from public business, 458. his first acquiescence was his residence in Jersey; his second was, when he was ambassador in Spain; and his third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment, 459. in all these he had learned more, knew himself and others better, and served God and his country with more devotion, *ib.* a summary recapitulation of his life, *ib.* his writings, 481.

Hyde, Henry, father to lord Clarendon, i. 1. of the Middle Temple, 3. master of arts in Oxford, *ib.* has an inclination to travel, *ib.* goes to the Spa for his health, 4. passes through Germany into Italy, to Florence, Syena, and Rome, *ib.* averse to the Roman catholics, *ib.* protected at Rome by cardinal Allen, *ib.* returns to England, *ib.* persuaded by his mother to marry, *ib.* marries Mary, daughter of Edward Langford, 5. lives a private life at Dinton, *ib.* his character, *ib.* serves as burgess in several parliaments, *ib.* has four sons and five daughters, 6. removes to Pirton, 9. in a very dangerous state of health, 18. removes to Salisbury, 19. dies suddenly aged sixty-nine, 20. character, 21.

Hyde, Henry, brother of lord Clarendon, i. 6. died aged twenty-six or twenty-seven, *ib.* was master of arts in the university of Oxford, *ib.*

Hyde, Joanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married to Edward Younge, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, of West-Hatch, grandfather to lord Clarendon, i. 1. his education, 2. a clerk in one of the auditor's offices of the exchequer, *ib.* married Anne widow of Matthew Calthurst, *ib.* had four sons and four daughters, *ib.* purchased the manor of West-Hatch, *ib.* where he died, *ib.* left the bulk of his estate to his eldest son Robert, *ib.* and the impropriate rectory of Denham to his second son Laurence, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, uncle to lord Clarendon, i. 2. afterwards sir Laurence, and attorney general to queen Anne, 3. a lawyer of great name and practice, *ib.* possessed from his father the impropriate rectory of Dinton, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, brother of lord Clarendon, i. 6. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Nicholas, uncle to lord Clarendon, i. 2. treasurer of the Middle Temple, 7. afterwards lord chief justice of the king's bench, 3, and 7. death and character, 12, 13.

Hyde, Nicholas, brother of lord Clarendon, i. 6. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Robert, of Norbury, co. Chester, great grandfather to lord Clarendon, i. 1.

Hyde Robert, uncle to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married Anne Castilian, 3.

Hyde, Susanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married to sir G. Fuy, *ib.*

I.

James I. recommends Edward Hyde to Dr. Langton, i. 7.

Jermyn, Mr. Thomas, i. 236.

Jermyn, Mr. master of the horse to the duke of York, ii. 12.

Jersey, i. 235—245.

Ignoto, the illegitimate son of lady Roos, iii. 174.
Indemnity, act of, transactions in parliament concerning it, i. 467. great delays respecting it, 471. is at last passed, 473.
Inspruck, the archduke of, character of his minister at Madrid, i. 272.
Insurrection, danger of, ii. 221.
Johnson, Ben, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, i. 34. his character, *ib.*
Ireland, i. 234, 236. commissioners sent thence to the king, 423. state of that kingdom, 441. commissioners sent from different parts of the kingdom, 442. commissioners from the state, 443. deputies from the bishops and clergy, 445. a committee deputed by the adventurers, 446. a committee from the army in present pay there, "for the arrears due to "them," 455. a committee from the officers who had served the king, 456. a committee for the Irish catholics, 458. Monk still continues lord lieutenant, 463. lord Roberts made deputy, 467. affairs of, taken into consideration, ii. 18. church lands restored, and new bishops appointed, 25. the Irish catholics favoured by the king, 26. the different pleas of the Irish, 27—40. a great number of the Irish catholics who had served the king restored, 41. the first act of settlement passed, 48. three lords justices appointed, 49. partiality of the commissioners appointed by the first act, 50. a second act of settlement transmitted to the king, 51. new commissioners appointed to execute it, *ib.* second act passed, 53. they publish their intended method of proceeding, 59. their sentences and decrees favourable to the Irish, 60. reflections on their proceedings, 62. too many of the Irish rebels restored to their estate, 64. many who had served the king condemned by the commissioners, 65. many of their decrees made upon settlements notoriously forged, 69. the defence of the commissioners on these proceedings, 70. their defence by no means satisfactory, 73. their decree in favour of the marquis of Antrim extremely complained of, 74. the difficulties of a settlement increased, 85. by some acts of bounty from his majesty, *ib.* which are attributed to the earl of Orrery, 86. the different parties agree upon an expedient for a settlement, 90. the third act passed, *ib.* the privy-council remonstrate against the bill prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England, iii. 137.
Italy, infested by the arms of Spain and France, i. 79.

K.

Killigrew, Harry, i. 140, *n.*
Killigrew, Mrs. one of the maids of honour to the princess royal, i. 302. dies of the small-pox, *ib.*
Kingston, co. Wilts, i. 2.
Kyneton, co. Wilts, i. 2.

L.

Lambert, general, ii. 117. close prisoner in the Tower, i. 335. still has his faction at work, *ib.*
Lane, Mr. attorney to the prince of Wales, and afterwards chief baron of the exchequer, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his pro-

fession, i. 67. upon the death of lord Littleton, is made keeper of the great seal, *ib.* dies in banishment, *ib.*

Langford, Edward, of Trowbridge, i. 5.

Langford, Mary, married to Henry Hyde, father of lord Clarendon, i. 5.

Langton, Dr. president of Magdalen college, Oxford, i. 7. king James recommends Edward Hyde to him, *ib.* pretends that the letter came too late, *ib.* receives reprehension from lord Conway for not giving more respect to the king's letter, *ib.*

Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, i. 22. one of the commissioners for managing the treasurer's office, *ib.* character upon undertaking that duty, 22, 23. receives information and complaints from Mr. Harvey, 24—28. sends for Edward Hyde, 29. is reconciled to the earl of Hertford through Mr. Hyde, 69. his greatest want, a true friend, *ib.* Mr. Hyde's free expostulation with him, 70.

Lautherdale, earl of, one of the Scotch commissioners, i. 427. his character and some account of him, 428. is made secretary of state in Scotland, 429. opposes the reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland, 434. strives to get it delayed, 435. his discourse makes some impression on the king, 439. his design is discovered by the other commissioners, *ib.* and prevented, 440.

Lawson, sir John, i. 494. much consulted by the duke of York, ii. 354. killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 391. his character, *ib.*

Lee, the lady, (afterwards countess of Rochester,) i. 137.

Leicester, earl of, i. 52.

London, the plague there in 1625, i. 8. the small-pox rages there in 1628, 10. opposes the Canary merchants' petition for a charter, ii. 373. a terrible fire breaks out Sept. 1. 1666. iii. 83. which continues four days, 90. it decreases, *ib.* various surmises and idle stories respecting it, 94. the inestimable loss sustained by the fire, 97.

Lopez, Dr. a learned Jew and physician, i. 278.

Lords, house of, (see parliament.)

Lorn, lord, son of the marquis of Argyle, restored, and created earl of Argyle, ii. 277.

Loudon, earl of, i. 189.

Low Countries, i. 52.

Lumley, the lord, i. 75, 77.

Lutterworth, i. 138.

Lindsey, earl of, ii. 16—18. has Cromwell's leave to attend the king's funeral, 16. lord high chamberlain of England, i. 411. is created knight of the garter by the chancellor's means, 412.

Lionne, monsieur de, iii. 356. secretary of state in France on the death of cardinal Mazarine i. 516.

Littleton, lord keeper, prevailed upon by Mr. Hyde to send the great seal to the king at York, and attend himself upon his majesty, i. 135. out of favour at court, 142. Mr. Hyde reconciles the king to him, 148.

Liturgy, an account of the revisal of it, ii. 118. some of the bishops are against all alterations in it, 119. others press both for alterations and additions, *ib.*

inveighed against by all the factious preachers of all persuasions, 123. presented to the house of lords with the king's confirmation, 128. consented to by them, 130.

M.

Madrid, i. 270.
Maltravers, the lord, i. 171.
Manchester, the earl of, i. 68, 88, 89. made lord chamberlain, 367. one of the committee appointed to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador concerning the king's marriage, 494.
Mandevile, the lord, son of the earl of Manchester, i. 88, 89.
Manly, sir Richard, i. 90.
Marlborough, taken by the king's forces, i. 172.
Marlborough, the earl of, killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, ii. 390.
Martin, Harry, his conversation with Mr. Hyde, i. 91. owns himself a republican, 92.
Martin, sir Henry, i. 87.
Masquerade, the, at Madrid, description of it, i. 265.
Maurice, prince, disunion between him and prince Rupert, i. 194.
May, Thomas, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, i. 34. his character, 39.
May, Mr. presumes to speak lightly to the king of the fire of London, iii. 101.
Maynard, John, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, i. 67. afterwards bowed his knee to Baal, and swerved from his allegiance, *ib.*
Mazarine, cardinal, i. 516.
Mervin, sir Audly, one of the commissioners from the state of Ireland, i. 443.
Middleburgh, i. 256.
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pleased with the queen mother's change of behaviour towards him, 397. proposes to the chancellor to accept of the garter, 410. is displeased at his refusal, 411. made governor of the African company, ii. 233. procures a charter for it, *ib.* is in favour of a war with the Dutch, 236. endeavours to persuade the king to engage in it, 238. is offended with the chancellor for opposing it, 240. but satisfied by his explanation, *ib.* consults with three eminent sea-officers, (on the breaking out of the Dutch war,) 354. he puts to sea, 356. many noblemen attend him as volunteers, *ib.* continually sends for reinforcements, 384. returns to the English coast, 385. engages the Dutch, and gains a signal victory, 387, 388. the queen mother prevents his going to sea again, 399. persuaded by Mr. Coventry to spend the summer of 1665 at York, 405. consults the chancellor about two suits which he intends to make to the king, 454. moves the king to make sir George Savile a viscount, 457. which is refused, 458. desires that his secretary, Mr. William Coventry, may be admitted of the privy-council, 459. which is granted, 460. highly offended with the earl of Sandwich, 466. an attempt to raise jealousies of him in the king, iii. 62. his temper and disposition, 66. is sent by the king to the chancellor to desire him to resign, 282. interests himself in behalf of the chancellor, 292. asks the king whether he desires to have the chancellor's life, or that he should be condemned to perpetual banishment, 308. continues his services in the chancellor's behalf, 320. unfortunately falls sick of the small-pox, *ib.* receives from the king an intimation of his wish that the chancellor would withdraw, 332. which he communicates to him by the bishop of Winchester, *ib.*

Young, Edward, of Durnford near Salisbury, i. 2. marries Joanna Hyde, *ib.*

Z.

Zested, Hannibal, ambassador from Denmark to France, his conduct in England, ii. 316.

THE END.

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